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BIOGRAPHY

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX
REVISED BY NORMAN PENNEY
INTRODUCTION BY RUFUS M. JONES, LL.D.

GEORGE FOX, born in Leicestershire in 1624, the son of a weaver. In 1643 he became an itinerant preacher. Gradually obtained a following and established the Society of Friends or Quakers. Travelled to America, 1671; and Holland, 1684. Died in 1691.

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JOURNAL



GEORGE FOX

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PREFACE

THE *Journal of George Fox* as here presented has as its basis the eighth (bicentenary) edition (1891) of the *Journal* as prepared by Thomas Ellwood and others, shortly after the death of the author, and published in 1694 (known as the Ellwood Text).

This bicentenary edition has been carefully collated with the first, and additions have been made from the *Journal* as printed at the Cambridge University Press in 1911, *verb. et lit.* from the original manuscripts (known as the Cambridge Text), and from the *Short Journal of George Fox*, now being edited from the hitherto unprinted manuscript for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

In order to bring the *Journal* within the bounds of one volume, numerous excisions have been made from the Ellwood Text, consisting largely of papers written by Fox, and of the non-autographic portion referred to in the Appendix to this volume. The longer excisions are denoted by "points."

The resultant text, which will be known as the Tercentenary Text, will, it is believed, not only preserve that which is vital in the original manuscripts, but throw into greater relief those portions of the *Journal* which have caused it to earn the marked appreciation of such representative minds as those of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb, George M. Trevelyan, William James, and Josiah Royce.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge the courtesy of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press in granting permission to include extracts from their valuable copyright edition of the *Journal*.

NORMAN PENNEY.

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INTRODUCTION

Two spiritual leaders have emerged in our generation into new light and have become greatly intensified living forces. They are St. Francis of Assisi and George Fox of Fenny Drayton. They had both been somewhat conventionalised by their devoted followers and they had consequently both undergone a shrinkage for the public at large just because they had been shorn of their rich human traits to make them fit a conventional pattern of sainthood. Now at length they have been discovered as they really were. Faithful historians, by patient, diligent research, have gradually removed the dim magnificence of artificial traditions and have made the human figures themselves stand forth as they actually were in the true local colour and the historical setting of their times. The odd and surprising result is that they are found to be much greater and much more interesting than their former devotees, who draped them as lay-figures, ever suspected. Once the *Journal* of Fox was found almost exclusively on the shelves of a single religious society; now persons of all classes and types and religious attitudes find that it is a live book, a fresh modern book, and worth their money, just because it reveals a genuine man engaged in a dramatic struggle for reality and for truth.

It used to be supposed that Fox "appeared" on the scene suddenly, abruptly, without forerunners and with little or no vital connection with the spiritual travail and the historical movements of his age. His message was assumed to be unique and new-born. Sober history has corrected that impression. He came to his manhood at a time when rural England was in a state of religious ferment. The seventeenth-century collectors of heresy have given us impressive, even if somewhat foggy, accounts of the free and eager quest for new paths and freer ways of thought and practice that characterised the era of the Commonwealth. Numerous religious movements had been set going on the Continent by the mighty vortex currents of the Reformation, and many of these movements quietly, gradually invaded England; sometimes by the migration of a persecuted leader or a hunted group; sometimes by the return home of chance visitors who had contracted the "contagion" while on a journey abroad. Little

by little books appeared putting into English the thoughts of Continental mystics and spiritual reformers, and as a result small submerged fellowships were formed in many counties and in widely sundered places in England. George Fox, from about the year 1648, began to give articulate expression to the dreams and faiths and hopes which lay, more or less unuttered, at the heart of the best of these movements and fellowships. He began at first as a "voice" crying in the rural districts, but he soon became a personal leader, an organiser and a vital interpreter—a prophet, in fact—of the mystical and seeking groups which abounded in the land and which were waiting for someone who could give them co-ordination, direction and vision. Just this Fox did. He rendered conscious, explicit and visible in an organised form what had before been vague and more or less subconscious.

Fox reveals in his own biographical accounts an unstable psychic constitution, very much like that which comes to light in the biographies of many other mystics and prophets. Scholars have coined technical terms to describe the phases of this condition, but neither these terms nor the scientific diagnosis of his case and kindred cases give us much real light on the peculiar condition which seems to favour the formation of a certain type of spiritual leader and which appears to make the person in question uniquely sensitive to divine currents as well as a magnetic influence over other lives. There were times, especially in the early period of Fox's life, when there were evident signs of profound disturbance in him, but his positive spiritual experiences steadily tended to organise and construct his life and to give him poise, solidity and power. In fact there are few more impressive cases of the power of endurance than his in his mature period. He learned to stand a hostile world. He managed to endure a long series of prison confinements that would have broken any constitution not well supplied with iron sinew. His journeys, when he was out of prison, were almost constant. They were usually difficult and dangerous and always full of occasions of exposure to the elements of nature.

The most striking thing about him is, I think, his absolute certainty that he had come into direct and immediate correspondence with God. It is the most important fact of his life, and at the same time it helps to explain all the other important facts of it. He revolted very early in life from what seemed to him *an artificially built religion, i.e. a religion of*

dogma and doctrine, constructed, he used to say, like a new kind of Babel-tower, in the hope that God might be reached by piling up theological notions and theories about Him, and, as a lonely and distressed youth, he set out on a personal quest to see whether there were any other way, any true way, of finding Him. The turning-point in his life came when he discovered that God is not above the sky, or at the end of a logical syllogism, but is a living spiritual presence revealed within the soul. "I came to know God experimentally," he says, "and was as one who hath a key and doth open." From his own first-hand experience there emerged a profound conviction which lasted all his life that God and man are essentially related because their spiritual frontiers are continuous and undivided. There is something in man that is not of dust, or earth, or flesh, or time, but of God. Fox has many ways of saying this in his seventeenth-century phrases, but of the fact itself he had no more doubt than he had of the hills and fields of Leicestershire, and that faith gave him an exalted sense of the infinite worth and preciousness of man, of every man of every type and degree. The *Journal* is largely the story of this man's practical and costly testimony to these central faiths of his life. It is marked throughout by sincerity and simplicity. The reader feels at once that here is an honest man who has had a transforming experience and who is endeavouring to give a plain, straightforward account of what has happened to him. He is at his best when he is telling the incidents and giving the experiences of the creative period before the more complex stages of his mission emerge, but it is all graphically done and it holds the reader's interest to the very end, when the dying man says: "I am clear; the Seed of God reigns." It is the story of a brave and heroic character, of a rugged, unpolished man, battling with immense difficulties and oppositions, but revealing often a fine humour and always a large patience and a mighty faith.

I always wish that he had not taken so much satisfaction in the "judgments" which overtook many of the persons that persecuted him. It would have been better if he could have shown more tenderness and gentle sweetness toward those who made his life thorny and dolorous, but this is to ask for a state of perfection to which few attain. It is, however, to be noted that in many cases he won the love and appreciation of his judges and his jailers, and in quite a number of instances they became "convinced" of the truth of his message and

joined his fellowship. He drew many of his followers from the rank of yeomen and labourers, from rural groups, as I have said, that had long been waiting and seeking for new light to break, but he also won to his cause some whose minds were well trained and who had everything to lose in a worldly sense if they accepted his way of life and threw in their lot with him. Margaret Fell of Swarthmore Hall, Thomas Ellwood, Isaac Penington, William Penn and Robert Barclay are some of the persons of this type who bore their testimony in very brave fashion and with their hearts' devotion to the convincing power and the personal influence of Fox's life and spirit. William Penn very finely says of him: "He acquitted himself like a man, a new and heavenly-minded man; a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making."

One of the outstanding features of his spiritual mission was his clear, sure insight into the moral and social condition of his time. His proposed remedy may not always seem sound and adequate to a generation that has had the advantage of scientific training in social problems, but it is interesting to see how Fox puts his finger with almost infallible certainty upon the sore spots and the evil tendencies around him. He was as tender as a mother over all who were victims—and what a list it was and still is!—of man's brutality, injustice, stupidity, greed or carelessness. He hated every artificial fashion which contracted the full human life of any man or woman. He went about his task of liberating men and transforming society with an absolute confidence in God's guidance and in the power of His Spirit, and with an unlimited faith in human possibilities and in the effectiveness of the spirit of sincere love and kindness when put full into practice. The results of his experiment on the whole bear out his faith. In any case, nothing else has ever worked any better than has this method of love and friendship, this transmission of the spirit of Christ.

The type of organisation which Fox developed for the groups of followers gathered around him indicates plainly enough that he was not a lonely dreamer but a practical leader of men, though here, again, he did not absolutely *originate* something wholly new and unique. He saw the latent possibilities in the simple types of group-fellowship that already existed and he expanded these and worked them out into new and fresh ways of expression. He produced not a new Church, not a new sect, but a new Society which was

most happily called "the Society of Friends." It was marked by almost utter simplicity of structure and method. There were no essential officials, no ritual, no programme, no outward and visible sacraments, no music, no paraphernalia of any kind. The groups of worshippers met in plain, unadorned buildings or rooms and sat down together in silence, with complete confidence that the Spirit would be a real presence among them and that Christ would be the Head of their assembly. There was the widest freedom and the greatest possible stretch of the principle of democracy. One might have supposed that chaos would have resulted, but it did not result. There emerged a rare type of spiritual leadership, leadership through the personal influence of the men and women who possessed prophetic vision, and for almost three centuries this group-fellowship and this gentle, unauthoritative leadership have weathered the storms and the stress and strain of the years.

Fox's *Journal* is of course not a new form of literature. St. Augustine furnished the model of self-revelation in his *Confessions*, and all religious autobiography after it, consciously or unconsciously, has been influenced by it. Fox had certainly never read that famous book and its influence on him was quite unconscious and indirect; but many of the mystics and spiritual prophets between the periods of St. Augustine and George Fox had told the story of their life and their struggles, and the style and method of procedure were well marked. And yet this *Journal* is not precisely like any other autobiography. It is unique and it carries throughout the peculiar flavour of a man who was not built on any former pattern. One of the greatest of George Fox's contemporaries, John Milton, said: "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." Here is a good book of that immortal type. It was written by a man of little learning, of small station, of no external position, but it embalms and treasures up the spirit and life-blood of a brave and honest man, who "knew God experimentally" and who made his life, as far as he knew how to do it, an organ of the living Christ in seventeenth-century England.

RUFUS M. JONES.

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A CHARACTER SKETCH

BY WILLIAM PENN

*Being extracts from his Preface to the original edition of
"The Journal of George Fox," 1694*

GEORGE FOX was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation; especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put upon occasion, manifested to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company, when very young, she was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business; and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both from its innocence and solitude, and was a just figure of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given, and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying anything of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth; but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts; and some there were, short of few, if any,¹ in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he

¹ Later editions have *some there were at that time.*

sought out in the neighbouring countries, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of, silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances, testifying and turning to the Light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the Light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man.

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In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither¹ parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord; that there might be but one shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound forth His great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him; and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travelled, God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, Thomas Taylor, John Aldam, Thomas Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who, after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon Him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in His name (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words), felt the divine motions, and were frequently

¹ Modern editions of the *Journal* have *higher*.

drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the Light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and goodwill, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts, yet God was pleased so to fill them with His living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in His service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw and Judge Fell, who were wont to go that circuit, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood, and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off and rooted them out of the country. Especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people; for his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends, not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people, which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love, and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years at first, till the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern countries had also opened their houses, with their hearts, to the many publishers that in a short time the Lord

had raised to declare His salvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man; and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converse with his brethren, and in the Church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it showed, beyond all contradiction, that God sent him; that no arts or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them; so that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes." For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that He did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger, in our age, of His blessed truth to men; but that He took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that His message and work He sent him to do, might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with

more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly, in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and circumspect care in the government of Church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness for His love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open Truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, that by bringing them to something that was of God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of Him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true Light, in all that are his through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and which was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know Him most will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busy-body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical; what fell from him was very inoffen-

sive if not very edifying.¹ So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that everywhere and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word, and doctrine, and discipline in England, Scotland, and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order as to Church affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years 1671 and 1677, he visited the Churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, to the conviction and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London; and besides the services of his ministry, which were frequent and serviceable, he writ much both to them that are within and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the Church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the affairs of the Church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world, where settled, come upon occasions; which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly² held there for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to discharge them, especially in suffering cases, showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the Churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and His people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Lichfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester,

¹ Meaning, perhaps, *even when it was not very edifying.*

² Called the Meeting for Sufferings, and now held monthly, except exigencies require more frequent sittings.

and Westminster Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But, as in the primitive times some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and who became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed by his presence or epistles a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the Church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was, in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people, and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly, I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it; but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the Head and care over the body; and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by

night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries: and I can say I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man; a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere. Civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us: and as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power, that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention; recommending to some with him, the despatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before written to the Churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but, above all, Friends, and of all Friends those in Ireland and America, twice over saying, "Mind poor Friends in Ireland and America."

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the Seed reigns, blessed be the Lord": which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard Street on the first day of the week, and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us, being at the house of Henry Goldney at the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children, to many generations, in the truth. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last; and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that "being dead, he yet speaketh"; and though absent in body, he is present in spirit; neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that worked by him; for which his memorial is, and shall be blessed.

I have done when I have left this short epitaph to his name: "Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but dear George, thou excellest them all." . . .

THE JOURNAL

JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND EARLY SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES

1624-1649

THAT all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles through which He led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which He had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify His infinite wisdom and goodness, I think fit (before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of Truth) briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, 1624, at Drayton-in-the-Clay,¹ in Leicestershire. My father's name was Christopher Fox: he was by profession a weaver, an honest man; and there was a seed of God in him. The neighbours called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lagos, and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit, not usual in children; insomuch, that when I saw old men carry themselves lightly and wantonly towards each other, I had a dislike thereof raised in my heart, and said within myself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so, nor be so wanton."

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to Yea and Nay in all things. For the Lord shewed me, that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit, and changeable words, yet I was to keep

¹ Now Fenny Drayton.

to Yea and Nay in all things; and that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that created them; they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, as sanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld; wherein is unity with the creation.

But people being strangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink to make themselves wanton with the creatures, devouring them upon their own lusts, and living in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation; and all this in the world, in the pollutions thereof, without God: therefore I was to shun all such.

Afterwards, as I grew up, my relations thought to make me a priest;¹ but others persuaded to the contrary: whereupon I was put to a man, a shoemaker by trade, and who dealt in wool, and used grazing, and sold cattle;² and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him, he was blessed; but after I left him he broke, and came to nothing. I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me, and over me to preserve me. While I was in that service, I used in my dealings the word Verily, and it was a common saying among people that knew me, "If George says Verily, there is no altering him." When boys and rude people would laugh at me, I let them alone, and went my way; but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honesty.

When I came towards nineteen years of age, being upon business at a fair, one of my cousins, whose name was Bradford, a professor,³ and having another professor with him, came to me and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, and I, being thirsty, went in with them; for I loved any that had a sense of good, or that sought after the Lord. When we had drunk a glass apiece they began to drink healths, calling for more, and agreeing together that he that would not drink should pay all. I was grieved that any who made profession of religion should do so. They grieved me very much, having never had such a thing put to me before, by any sort of people; wherefore I rose up to be gone, and putting my hand into my pocket, laid a groat on the table before them, and said, "If it be so, I'll

¹ Here and elsewhere applied to all persons who were in receipt of money for preaching, irrespective of the particular sect to which they belonged.

² Probably George Gee, of Mancetter.

³ That is, a professor of religion.

leave you." So I went away; and when I had done what business I had to do, I returned home, but did not go to bed that night, nor could not sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said unto me, "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be as a stranger unto all."

Then at the command of God, on the ninth day of the Seventh Month, 1643, I left my relations, and brake off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young. I passed to Lutterworth, where I stayed some time; and thence to Northampton, where also I made some stay: then to Newport Pagnell, whence, after I had stayed a while, I went to Barnet, in the Fourth Month, called June,¹ in 1644. As I thus travelled through the countries, professors took notice and sought to be acquainted with me; but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed.

Now during the time that I was at Barnet, a strong temptation to despair came upon me. Then I saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in; sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the chace there, to wait upon the Lord. I wondered why these things should come to me; and I looked upon myself and said, "Was I ever so before?" Then I thought, because I had forsaken my relations, I had done amiss against them; so I was brought to call to mind all the time that I had spent, and to consider whether I had wronged any. But temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almost to despair; and when Satan could not effect his design upon me that way, he laid snares for me and baits to draw me to commit some sin, whereby he might take advantage to bring me to despair. I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me; and I continued in that condition some years, in great troubles, and fain I would have put it from me. I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great misery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great professors of the city of London, and I saw all was dark and under the chain of darkness. I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist (and they were tender then), yet I could not impart my mind to him, nor join with them; for I saw all,

¹ March was then the "First Month" of the year.

young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me stay, but I was fearful, and returned homewards into Leicestershire again, having a regard upon my mind unto my parents and relations, lest I should grieve them; who, I understood, were troubled at my absence.

When I was come down into Leicestershire, my relations would have had me marry, but I told them I was but a lad, and I must get wisdom. Others would have had me into the Auxiliary Band among the soldiery, but I refused; and I was grieved that they proffered such things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for a while at a professor's house, till people began to be acquainted with me; for there were many tender people in that town.

After some time I went into my own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and troubles, and walked many nights by myself. Then the priest of Drayton, the town of my birth, whose name was Nathaniel Stephens, came often to me, and I went often to him; and another priest sometimes came with him; and they would give place to me to hear me, and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. And this priest Stephens asked me a question, viz., "Why Christ cried out upon the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and why He said, 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine be done?'" I told him that at that time the sins of all mankind were upon Him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which He was wounded, which He was to bear, and to be an offering for them as He was man, but died not as He was God; and so, in that He died for all men, and tasted death for every man, He was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spake, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what He went through. And the priest said it was a very good, full answer, and such a one as he had not heard. At that time he would applaud and speak highly of me to others; and what I said in discourse to him on the week-days he would preach of on the First-days; for which I did not like him. This priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Mancetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition; he bade me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing; I could

not sing. Then he bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came again he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, and sorrows, and griefs to his servants so that it was got among the milk-lasses, which grieved me that I had opened my mind to such a one. I saw they were all miserable comforters; and this brought my troubles more upon me. Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and I went seven miles to him; but I found him but like an empty hollow cask. I heard also of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry, and went to him. I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. He asked me, "Who was Christ's father and mother?" I told him, "Mary was His mother, and that He was supposed to be the son of Joseph, but He was the Son of God." Now, as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in such a rage as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me; for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham,¹ a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head (though they endeavoured it), my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen vanity and wickedness, and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. When the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, I would have gone and looked out poor widows from house to house, and have given them some money. When I was invited to marriages (as I sometimes was), I would go to none at all, but the next day, or soon after, I would go and visit them; and if they were poor I gave them some money; for I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of others.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going to Coventry, and entering towards the gate, a consideration arose in me, how it was said that all Christians are believers, both

¹ John Macham, prebendary of Lichfield.

Protestants and Papists; and the Lord opened to me that, if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but such; and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time, as I was walking in a field on a First-day morning, the Lord opened to me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ; and I stranged¹ at it, because it was the common belief of people. But I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord who had opened this thing unto me that morning. This struck at priest Stephens' ministry, namely, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ. But my relations were much troubled that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would get into the orchard, or the fields, with my Bible by myself. I asked them, "Did not the apostle say to believers, that 'they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them'?" And though they knew this was Scripture, and that it was true, yet they would be grieved because I could not be subject in this matter, to go to hear the priest with them. I saw that to be a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be. So neither them, nor any of the Dissenting people, could I join with, but was as a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time it was opened in me that God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. This, at the first, seemed a strange word, because both priests and people used to call their temples or churches dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God. But the Lord shewed me, so that I did see clearly, that He did not dwell in these temples which men had commanded and set up, but in people's hearts: for both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore testimony, that He did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which He had once commanded to be built, since He put an end to it; but that His people were His temple, and He dwelt in them. This opened in me as I walked in the fields to my relations' house. When I came there, they told me that Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, had been there, and told them he was afraid of me, for going after new lights. I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I told not my relations, who, though they saw

¹ Wondered.

beyond the priests, yet they went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also. But I brought them Scriptures and told them there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach His people Himself. I had also great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spake of them, the priests and professors would say that was a sealed-up book, and would have kept me out of it: but I told them Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the Epistles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the Revelations were written of things to come.

After this I met with a sort of people that held women have no souls, adding, in a light manner, no more than a goose. But I reprov'd them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my saviour."

Removing to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams. I told them, except they could distinguish between dream and dream, they would mash or confound all together; for there were three sorts of dreams: multitude of business sometimes caused dreams; and there were whisperings of Satan in man in the night-season; and there were speakings of God to man in dreams. But these people came out of these things, and at last became Friends.

Now though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptation came many times upon me, so that when it was day I wished for night, and when it was night I wished for day; and by reason of the openings I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge." When I had openings, they answered one another and answered the Scriptures; for I had great openings of the Scriptures: and when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

About the beginning of the year 1647 I was moved of the Lord to go into Derbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discourses with them. Then passing further into the Peak country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty, high notions. Travelling on through some parts of Leicestershire and into Nottinghamshire, I met with a tender people, and a very tender woman, whose name was Elizabeth Hooton; and with these I had some meetings and discourses. But my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations; I fasted much, and walked abroad

in solitary places many days, and often took my Bible, and went and sate in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently, in the night, walked mournfully about by myself: for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the first workings of the Lord in me.

Now during all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up myself to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in the town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, more or less, in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either. For which reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord; and was brought off from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress! when my troubles and torments were great, then was His love exceeding great.

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the Dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the Separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, oh! then I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition": and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely,

that I might give Him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace and faith and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? and this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the Scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see His love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books; and that love let me see myself, as I was without Him. I was afraid of all company, for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God, which let me see myself.

At another time I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration ¹ at the infiniteness of it; and then I saw what was cast out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom: and how by Jesus, the opener of the door with His heavenly key, the entrance was given; and I saw death, how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man, and in me; and how I in the seed came forth, and what the promise was to. Yet it was so with me, that there seemed to be two pleading in me; questionings arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies; and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Ghost. I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I gave up myself to the Lord still.

One day when I had been walking solitarily abroad, and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of His love. While I was in that condition it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I saw clearly therein that all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ; and how He conquers and destroys this tempter, the Devil, and all his works, and is atop of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me. When at any time my condition was veiled, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim

¹ Wonder.

above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are. But, oh! then did I see my troubles, trials and temptations more than ever I had done. As the light appeared, all appeared that is out of the light; darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly; all was manifest and seen in the light. Then after this, there did a pure fire appear in me: then I saw how He sate as a refiner's fire and as fullers' soap;—then the spiritual discerning came into me, by which I did discern my own thoughts, groans and sighs; and what it was that did veil me, and what it was that did open me. That which could not abide in the patience nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the flesh that could not give up to the will of God, which had veiled me; and that could not be patient in all trials, troubles and anguishes and perplexities, and could not give up self to die by the cross, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow Him; and that that which would cloud and veil from the presence of Christ—that which the sword of the Spirit cuts down, and which must die—might not be kept alive.

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Several things did I then see as the Lord opened them to me, for He shewed me that which can live in His holy refining fire, and that can live to God under His law. He made me sensible how the law and the prophets were until John; and how the least in the everlasting kingdom of God is greater than John.

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I saw also the mountains burning up, and the rubbish; and the rough and crooked ways and places made smooth and plain that the Lord might come into His tabernacle. I saw many talked of the law who had never known the law to be their schoolmaster; and many talked of the gospel of Christ who had never known life and immortality brought to light in them by it. Though the Lord in that day opened these things unto me in secret, they have since been published by His eternal Spirit, as on the house-top.

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I heard of a woman in Lancashire that had fasted two and twenty days, and I travelled to see her; but when I came to her I saw that she was under a temptation. When I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being one

high in profession. Passing on, I went among the professors at Dukinfield and Manchester, where I stayed a while, and declared Truth among them. There were some convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth. But the professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection, and could not endure to hear talk of perfection, and of a holy and sinless life. But the Lord's power was over all: though they were chained under darkness and sin, which they pleaded for, and quenched the tender thing in them.

About this time there was a great meeting of the Baptists at Broughton in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them; and people of other notions went thither, and I went also. Not many of the Baptists came, but abundance of other people were there. The Lord opened my mouth, and the everlasting truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all. For in that day the Lord's power began to spring, and I had great openings in the Scriptures. Several were convinced in those parts, and were turned from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God; and many were raised up to praise God. When I reasoned with professors and other people, some were convinced, and did stand.

I was still under great temptations sometimes, and my inward sufferings were heavy; but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord shewed me that the natures of those things which were hurtful without, were within, in the hearts and minds of wicked men. I cried to the Lord, saying, "Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils?" and the Lord answered that it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions, and in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God; and I had great openings.

And as I was walking by the steeple-house side in Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, "That which people trample upon must be thy food." And as the Lord spake, He opened it to me that people and professors did trample upon the life, even the life of Christ; they fed upon words, and fed one another with words; but they trampled upon the life; trampled underfoot the blood of the Son of God, which blood was my life, and lived in their airy notions, talking of Him. It seemed strange to me at the

first that I should feed on that which the high professors trampled upon; but the Lord opened it clearly to me by His eternal spirit and power.

Then came people from far and near to see me; but I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak and open things to them. There was one Brown who had great prophecies and sights of me upon his death-bed. He spake openly of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he spake, that they should come to nothing, which was fulfilled on some, that then were something in shew. When this man was buried, a great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me for about fourteen days' time. I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new-moulded or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Christ, &c., the serpent spake in them; but this was hard to be borne. Yet the work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be express by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal, glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought, which covered-over all the world, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. The same eternal power of God, which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations, priests, professors, and people.

I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; for this I mourned with tears. A report went abroad of me that I was a young man that had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me, from far and near, professors, priests and people. The Lord's power brake forth; and I had great openings and prophecies; and spake unto them of the things of God, which they heard with attention and silence, and went away, and spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter, and set upon me again, charging me that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but I could not tell in what. Then

Paul's condition came before me, how, after he had been taken up into the third heaven, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. Thus, by the power of Christ, I got over that temptation also.

In the year 1648, as I was sitting in a Friend's house in Nottinghamshire (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of some to receive the word of life and reconciliation), I saw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth, and a great smoke to go as the crack went; and that after the crack there should be a great shaking: this was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken before the seed of God was raised out of the earth. And it was so; for the Lord's power began to shake them, and great meetings we began to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was amongst people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

And there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and I went among them. Here they discoursed how Paul said he had not known sin but by the law which said, "Thou shalt not lust": and they held that to be spoken of the outward law. But I told them Paul spake that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but this was the law of God in his mind, which he served, and which the law in his members warred against; for that which he thought had been life to him proved death. So the more sober of the priests and professors yielded, and consented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, which shewed the inward lust which Paul spake of after he was convinced: for the outward law took hold upon the outward action; but the inward law upon the inward lust.

After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people. Here I was moved to pray, and the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken. When I had done, some of the professors said it was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were. After I had prayed, one of the professors would pray, which brought deadness and a veil over them. And others of the professors were grieved at him and told him it was a temptation upon him. Then he came to me, and desired that I would pray again, but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain, whose name was Amor Stoddard, came in. They were discoursing of the blood of Christ; and as they were discoursing

of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible Spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, and said, "Do ye not see the blood of Christ? See it in your hearts to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works to serve the living God": for I saw it, the blood of the New Covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But Captain Stoddard was reached, and said, "Let the youth speak; hear the youth speak," when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

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Now, after I had had some service in these parts, I went through Derbyshire into my own country, Leicestershire, again, and several tender people were convinced. Passing thence, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying and expounding the Scriptures in the fields. They gave the Bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law; and I opened the inward state to them, and the outward state; upon which they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted, but the Lord's power got ground.

In Leicestershire, as I was passing through the fields I was moved to go to Leicester, and when I came there I heard of a great meeting for a dispute, wherein Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Common-prayer-men were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house; and thither I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews and the priest in the pulpit; abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, what that birth was, viz., a being "born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever." And the priest said to her, "I permit not a woman to speak in the church"; though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up, as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up in a place and asked the priest, "Dost thou call this place a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?" For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But, instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was? I told him the Church was the pillar and ground of Truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual

household, which Christ was the head of: but He was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire. The priest came down out of his pulpit and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts; and they were all on a fire. But I maintained the true Church, and the true head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away. And there was one man that seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest in pleading for infants' baptism, though he himself had been a Baptist before; and so left me alone. Howbeit, there were several convinced that day; and the woman that asked the question was convinced, and her family; and the Lord's power and glory shined over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire again, and went into the Vale of Beavor.¹ As I went, I preached repentance to the people; and there were many convinced in the Vale of Beavor, in many towns; for I stayed some weeks amongst them. And one morning, as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; but I sate still. And it was said, "All things come by nature"; and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But inasmuch as I sate still and silent the people of the house perceived nothing. And as I sate still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, "There is a living God who made all things." And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God. After some time, I met with some people who had such a notion that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. I had a great dispute with them and overturned them and made some of them confess that there is a living God. Then I saw that it was good that I had gone through that exercise. We had great meetings in those parts, for the power of the Lord brake through in that side of the country. Returning into Nottinghamshire, I found there a company of shattered Baptists, and others; and the Lord's power wrought mightily, and gathered many of them. Afterwards I went to Mansfield and thereaway, where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested both at Mansfield and other neighbouring towns. In Derbyshire the mighty power of

¹ Belvoir.

God wrought in a wonderful manner. At Eaton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of Friends, where there was such a mighty power of God that they were greatly shaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. Many were moved by the Lord to go to steeple-houses, to the priests and to the people, to declare the everlasting truth unto them.

At a certain time, when I was at Mansfield, there was a sitting of the justices about hiring of servants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they sate; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning when I might have a more serious opportunity to discourse them, not thinking that a seasonable time. But when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind that I could not see. I inquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to sit that day; and he told me, "At a town eight miles off." My sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. When I was come to the house where they were and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them; and I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly, &c. They all received my exhortation kindly, for I was moved of the Lord therein.

Moreover, I was moved to go to several Courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit and to turn to the Lord, and do justly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a Court there, I was moved to go and speak to one of the wickedest men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whore-master, and a rhyme-maker; and I reproved him in the dread of the mighty God for his evil courses. When I had done speaking and left him, he came after me, and told me that he was so smitten when I spake to him that he had scarcely any strength left in him. So this man was convinced, and turned from his wickedness, and remained an honest, sober man, to the astonishment of the people who had known him before. Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from the darkness to the light within the compass of these three years 1646, 1647 and 1648. Divers meetings of Friends, in several places, were then gathered to God's teaching, by His light, spirit and power; for the Lord's power brake forth more and more wonderfully.

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was shewed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. And the Lord shewed me that such as were faithful to Him, in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof, may be known through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive the word of wisdom, that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

Thus I travelled on in the Lord's service, as the Lord led me. And when I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among Friends. From thence I went to Clawson, in Leicestershire, in the Vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God was there also in several towns and villages where Friends were gathered. While I was there, the Lord opened to me three things, relating to those three great professions in the world, physic, divinity (so called) and law. He shewed me that the physicians were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and so knew not their virtues, because they were out of the word of wisdom, by which they were made. He shewed me that the priests were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of; the faith which purifies and gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. He shewed me also, that the lawyers were out of the equity, and out of the true justice, and out of the law of

God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God, that was grieved and transgressed in man. And that these three, the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God: the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the soul, and the third the property of the people. But I saw they were all out, out of the wisdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things unto me, I felt His power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow unto it. The priests might be reformed and brought into the true faith, which was the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed and brought into the law of God, which answers that of God which is transgressed in every one, and brings to love one's neighbour as himself. This lets man see if he wrongs his neighbour he wrongs himself; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would they should do unto him. The physicians might be reformed and brought into the wisdom of God by which all things were made and created, that they might receive a right knowledge of the creatures and understand their virtues, which the word of wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them.

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I saw how people read the Scriptures without a right sense of them, and without duly applying them to their own states. For when they read that death reigned from Adam to Moses; that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John, they read these things and applied them to others, but they did not turn in to find the truth of these things in themselves. But as these things came to be opened in me, I saw death reigned over them from Adam to Moses; from the entrance into transgression, till they came to the ministration of condemnation, which restrains people from sin that brings death. Then, when the ministration of Moses is passed through, the ministry of the prophets comes to be read and understood, which reaches through the figures, types, and shadows unto John, the greatest prophet born of a woman; whose ministration prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making straight paths. And as this ministration is passed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlasting kingdom. Thus I saw plainly that none could read Moses aright without Moses' spirit, by which

Moses saw how man was in the image of God in Paradise, and how he fell, how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. I saw how Moses received the pure law, that went over all transgressors; and how the clean beasts, which were figures and types, were offered up, when the people were come into the righteous law that went over the first transgression. Both Moses and the prophets saw through the types and figures and beyond them, and saw Christ, the great prophet, that was to come to fulfil them. I saw that none could read John's words aright, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with the same divine Spirit by which John spake them; and by his burning, shining light, which is sent from God. Thus I saw it was an easy matter to say death reigned from Adam to Moses; and that the law and the prophets were until John; and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; but none could know how death reigned from Adam to Moses, &c., but by the same Holy Spirit that Moses, the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the spiritual meaning of Moses', the prophets', and John's words, nor see their path and travels, much less see through them and to the end of them into the kingdom, unless they had the spirit and light of Jesus; nor could they know the words of Christ, and of His apostles, without His spirit. But as man comes through, by the spirit and power of God, to Christ who fulfils the types, figures, shadows, promises, and prophecies that were of Him, and is led by the Holy Ghost into the truth and substance of the Scriptures, sitting down in Him who is the author and end of them; then are they read, and understood with profit and great delight.

Moreover, when I was brought up into His image in righteousness and holiness, and into the paradise of God, He let me see how Adam was made a living soul: and also the stature of Christ, the mystery that had been hid from ages and generations; which things are hard to be uttered and cannot be borne by many. For, of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed withal, I found none that could bear to be told that any should come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God, and righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell; to be clear and pure without sin, as he was. Therefore how should they be able to bear being told that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any should come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and spirit that the prophets

and apostles were in? Though it is a certain truth that none can understand their writings aright without the same Spirit by which they were written.

On a certain time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord said unto me, "Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life which was before the foundation of the world"; and, as the Lord spake it, I believed, and saw it in the new birth. Then, some time after, the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery, thorny wilderness; and when I came, in the Lord's mighty power, with the word of life into the world, the world swelled, and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people, were all like a sea when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst them, and to preach repentance to them.

I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus: for, to as many as should receive Him in His light, I saw that He would give power to become the sons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Christ. I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all Truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, and their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. I saw that Christ died for all men, and was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women with His divine and saving light; and that none could be a true believer but who believed in it. I saw that the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter, but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by His immediate spirit and power, as did the holy men of God by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit by which they were given forth: and what the Lord opened in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written, but all would

prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting and furnishing me for the service He had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of His own everlasting kingdom.

Now, when the Lord God and His Son Jesus Christ sent me forth into the world, to preach His everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation, and their way to God; even that divine Spirit which would lead them into all Truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and Spirit of God, and the light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the Church in God, the general assembly written in heaven which Christ is the head of: and off from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him"; and off from all the world's worships, to know the Spirit of Truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby; that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship Him; which Spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are vain; that they might know the pure religion, might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world; then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, to see so much hard-heartedness amongst them that professed the name of Christ. And I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, and prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power, that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost, and in the Eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, and sing in the Spirit, and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent His beloved Son to be their Saviour, and caused His heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all, and His heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust as His outward rain doth fall, and His outward sun doth shine on all, which is God's unspeakable love to the world. And I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from men's inventions and windy

doctrines, by which they blew the people about this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ, who are indeed ministers of their own making but not of Christ's; and from all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy days (so called) and all their vain traditions, which they had gotten up since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against: in the dread and authority of which I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to Thee and Thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people Good morrow or Good evening; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to His glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprang from on high, and brake forth apace, by the light of which many came to see where they were.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their Courts to cry for justice, and in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly; and in warning such as kept public-houses for entertainment that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good; and in testifying against their wakes or feasts, may-games, sports, plays, and shows, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God; and the days they had set forth for holy-days were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs, also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, and cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their Yea be yea, and their Nay be nay; and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them; and forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages, for they burthened the pure life and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised, too, with school-masters

and school-mistresses, warning them to teach their children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. Likewise I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and that they themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them.

Likewise, I was exercised about the star-gazers, who drew people's minds from Christ, the bright and the morning Star; and from the Sun of righteousness, by whom the sun, and moon, and stars, and all things else were made, who is the wisdom of God, and from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

But the black earthly spirit of the priests wounded my life; and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the steeple-house, it struck at my life; for it was just like a market-bell, to gather people together that the priest might set forth his ware to sale. Oh! the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade they make of selling the Scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What one trade else in the world is comparable to it? notwithstanding the Scriptures were given forth freely, and Christ commanded His ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free spirit of the Lord Jesus was I sent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Christ, who gives freely, and who renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

CHAPTER II

SERVICE AND SUFFERING IN THE MIDLANDS

1649-1651

Now as I went towards Nottingham on a First-day in the morning with Friends to a meeting there, when I came on top of a hill in sight of the town, I espied the great steeple-house; and the Lord said unto me, "Thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." I said nothing of this to the Friends that were with me, but went on with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord was amongst us; in which I left Friends sitting in the meeting, and I went away to the steeple-house. When I came there, all the people looked like fallow-ground, and the priest, like a great lump of earth, stood in his pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter, "We have also a more sure Word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." And he told the people that this was the Scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, "Oh, no, it is not the Scriptures." But I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all Truth, and so gave the knowledge of all Truth. The Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost and rejected Christ the bright morning-star. They persecuted Christ and His apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost. Now as I spake thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison, where the wind brought all the stench of the house of office into the place, the stench whereof got so into my nose and throat that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power sounded so in their ears, that

they were amazed at the voice; and could not get it out of their ears for some time after, they were so reached by the Lord's power in the steeple-house. At night they took me before the mayor,¹ aldermen, and sheriffs of the town; and when I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power allayed him. They examined me at large; and I told them how the Lord had moved me to come. After some discourse between them and me, they sent me back to prison again; but some time after the head sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for me to his house. When I came in, his wife met me in the hall, and said, "Salvation is come to our house." She took me by the hand, and was much wrought upon by the power of the Lord God; and her husband, and children, and servants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them. I lodged at the sheriff's, and great meetings we had in his house. Some persons of considerable condition in the world came to them, and the Lord's power appeared eminently amongst them. This sheriff sent for the other sheriff, and for a woman they had had dealings with in the way of trade; and he told her before the other sheriff that they had wronged her in their dealings with her (for the other sheriff and he were partners), and that they ought to make her restitution. This he spake cheerfully; but the other sheriff denied it; and the woman said she knew nothing of it. But the friendly sheriff said it was so, and that the other knew it well enough; and having discovered the matter, and acknowledged the wrong done by them, he made restitution to the woman, and exhorted the other sheriff to do the like.

The Lord's power was with this friendly sheriff and wrought a mighty change in him, and great openings he had. The next market-day, as he was walking with me in the chamber, in his slippers, he said, "I must go into the market, and preach repentance to the people"; and accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, and preached repentance to the people. Several others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. Hereupon the magistrates grew very angry, and sent for me from the sheriff's house, and committed me to the common prison. When the Assize came on, there was one moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body, yea, life also; but when I should have been brought before the

¹ William Nix was mayor and John Reckless and Richard Watkinson sheriffs.

judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching me to the Sessions-house, the judge was risen before I came. At which I understood the judge was somewhat offended, and said he would have admonished the youth, if he had been brought before him; for I was then imprisoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to prison again, and put into the common jail. The Lord's power was great among Friends; but the people began to be very rude; wherefore the governor of the castle¹ sent down soldiers and dispersed them; and after that they were quiet. But both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful power that brake forth; and several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

Now after I was released from Nottingham jail, where I had been kept prisoner some time, I travelled as before, in the work of the Lord. Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouse, there was a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair loose all about her ears. He was about to bleed her, she being first bound, and many people being about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her. I desired them to unbind her, and let her alone, for they could not touch the spirit in her, by which she was tormented. So they unbound her; and I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and still; and she was so. The Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended; and afterwards she received the truth, and continued in it to her death. The Lord's name was honoured; to whom the glory of all His works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare His omnipotent arm, and manifested His power to the astonishment of many, by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities, and the devils were made subject through His name; of which particular instances might be given beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear. But blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honoured, and over all exalted and magnified be the arm of His glorious power, by which He hath wrought gloriously; let the honour and praise of all His works be ascribed to Him alone.

Now while I was at Mansfield-Woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeple-house there on a First-day, out of the meeting in Mansfield, and declare the truth to the priest and people;

¹ This was Colonel Hutchinson (1616-1664), whose *Memoirs*, by his wife, is a classic.

but the people fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, Bibles, and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sate some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me, and as I sate in the stocks they threw stones at me. After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house,¹ where were many great persons; who, seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening set me at liberty. But the rude people stoned me out of the town, and threatned me with pistols, for preaching the word of life to them. I was scarce able to move or stand, by reason of the ill-usage I had received; yet with considerable effort I got about a mile from the town, and then I met with some people who gave me something to comfort me, because I was inwardly bruised; but the Lord's power went through me and healed me. That day some people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to His teaching, at which I rejoiced.

Passing from thence, I heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion. And as I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love." And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sate still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but another of them said, "We could not bear such things." So when they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by motion, or from Scripture; and they said, "From Scripture." A Bible lying by, I asked them for that Scripture; and they shewed me the place where the sheet was let down to Peter, and it was said to him what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. Now when I had shewed them that that Scripture made nothing for their purpose, they brought another, which spake of God's reconciling all things to Himself, things in heaven, and things in earth. I told them I owned that Scripture also, but shewed them that that was nothing to their

¹ Said to be that of Sir John Digby.

purpose either. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow. They said they could not tell. I told them God could tell. Again I asked them if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change, and they answered they could not tell. Then said I unto them, "God can tell, and God doth not change. You say you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or no." So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time. After I had reprov'd them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters. I had met with none before; and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me before I went amongst them. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, put forth a paper or book of recantation; upon which they were set at liberty.

And in Warwickshire, at Atherstone, when I was two miles off, the bell rung upon a market-day for a lecture, and it struck at my life; and I was moved to go to the steeple-house. And when I came into it, I found a man speaking; and when I stood among the people the glory and life shined over all and with it I was crowned. And when the priest had done, I spake to him and the people the truth and the light, which let them see all that ever they had done, and of their Teacher within them and how the Lord was come to teach them Himself, and it set them in a flurry and under a rage. And some said I was mad and spake to my outward relations to tie me up, and set them in a rage, but the truth came over all.

Then I went to Market-Bosworth, and there was a lecture there also. He that preached that day was Nathaniel Stephens, who was priest of the town where I was born. He raged much when I spake to him and to the people, and told them I was mad (though he had said before to one Colonel Purfoy¹ that there was never such a plant bred in England), and he bid the people not to hear me. So the people, being stirred up by this deceitful priest, fell upon us, and stoned us out of the town; yet they did not do us much hurt. Howbeit, some people were made loving that day, and others were confirmed, seeing the rage of both priests and professors; and some cried out that the priest durst not stand to prove his ministry.

As I travelled through markets, fairs, and divers places, I

¹ George Purefoy, squire of Drayton.

saw death and darkness in all people, where the power of the Lord God had not shaken them. As I was passing on in Leicestershire, I came to Twy-Cross, where there were excise-men. I was moved of the Lord to go to them, and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it. There was in that town a great man, that had long lain sick and was given up by the physicians; and some Friends in the town desired me to go to see him. I went up to him in his chamber, and spake the word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and restored him to health. But when I was come down the stairs, into a lower room, and was speaking to the servants and to some people that were there, a serving-man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and run at me ere I was aware of it and set it just to my side. I looked at him in his face and said, "Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? it is no more to me than a straw." The standers-by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage and full of wrath. But when the news of it came to his master, he turned him out of his service. Thus the Lord's power preserved me, and raised up the weak man, according to my belief and faith that I had seen before, who afterwards was very loving to Friends; and when I came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see me.

After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty power of God was among Friends. And I went to Chesterfield, where one Britland was priest.¹ He saw beyond the common sort of priests, for he had² been partly convinced and had spoken much on behalf of Truth before he was priest there; but when the priest of that town died, he got the parsonage and choked himself with it. I was moved to speak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and he was not able to gainsay. But they had me before the mayor, and sent me, with some others, to the House of Correction; but the judgments of the Lord came on that priest soon after, and he was cut off and died. In the night, the officers, with the watchmen, put us out of the town, leaving us to shift as we could.

Priest Stephens, of Drayton, my native place, preached and told my relations that I was carried up with a whirlwind into

¹ Thomas Bretland (*d.* 1656), lecturer at Chesterfield.

² It is at this point that the Cambridge Text begins, the previous portion of the original ms. having been lost.

Heaven, and after was found full of gold and silver. And so my relations wrote a letter to me to come and shew myself. And so I answered the letter and they shewed it to the priest. The priest said, "Any one might write a letter, but where is the man?" My relations did conclude it was so, for, said they, "When he went from us, he had a great deal of gold and silver about him." After I went homewards.

Coming to Derby, I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced; and so were several more in the town. As I was walking in my chamber, the bell did ring, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it; so I asked the woman of the house what the bell rang for. She said there was to be a great lecture there that day, and many of the officers of the army, and priests, and preachers were to be there, and a colonel that was a preacher.¹ Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them, and two others with me; and when the priest had done I spake to them what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer and took me by the hand, and said I must go before the magistrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the first hour after noon that we came before them. They asked me why we came thither; I said, "God moved us so to do"; and I told them, "God dwells not in temples made with hands." I told them also all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices would never sanctify them; and bid them look unto Christ in them, and not unto men; for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey Him. The power of God thundered amongst them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward; for they were from the first hour till the ninth at night in examining me. Sometimes they would tell me, in a deriding manner, that I was taken up in raptures. At last they asked me whether I was sanctified. I answered, "Sanctified! Yes"; for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me if I had no sin. I answered, "Sin! Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in Him there is no sin." They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us. I said, "By His Spirit, that He has given us." They temptingly asked if any of us were Christ. I answered, "Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all." They said, "If a man steal, is it no sin?" I answered, "All unrighteousness is sin." So when they had wearied them-

¹ This was probably Colonel Barton, mentioned later.

selves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the House of Correction in Derby for six months, as blasphemers; as appears by the following mittimus:

To the Master of the House of Correction in Derby, greeting.

We have sent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John Fretwell, late of Stainsby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to a late Act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you, forthwith upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of the good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail.

Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

GER. BENNET,
NATH. BARTON.

Now did the priests bestir themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and much of their work was to plead for it; so that people said, "Never was the like heard." Then after some time, he that was committed with me, not standing faithful in his testimony, got in with the jailer, and by him made way to the justice to have leave to go to see his mother; and so got his liberty. It was then reported that he should say I had bewitched and deceived him; but my spirit was strengthened when he was gone. The priests and professors, the justices and the jailer, were all in a great rage against me. The jailer watched my words and actions, and would often ask me questions to ensnare me; and sometimes asked me such silly questions as whether the door was latched or not, thinking to draw some sudden, unadvised answer from me, whence he might take advantage to charge sin upon me; but I was kept watchful and chaste, so that they could get no advantage of me, and they admired at it.

Not long after my commitment, I was moved to write both to the priests and magistrates of Derby.

Now, after I had thus far cleared my conscience to them, I waited in the holy patience, leaving the event to God, in whose will I stood. After some time I was moved to write again to the justices that had committed me, to lay their evils before

them, that they might repent. One of them, that signed the mittimus, to wit, Nathaniel Barton, was both a colonel, a justice and a preacher.

As I had thus written unto them jointly, so, after some respite of time, I writ to each of them by himself.

Now, as I had written to the justices and to the priests, so it was upon me to write to the mayor of Derby also; who, though he did not sign the mittimus, had a hand with the rest in sending me to prison.

I writ also to the Court at Derby thus:

I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your Courts, or laying burthens upon poor people, which they cannot bear; and of imposing false oaths, or making them to take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, "I will come near to judgment, and will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress widows and fatherless." Therefore take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous; and He delighteth in mercy. So love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.

Likewise to the ringers who used to ring the bells in the steeple-house, called St. Peter's, in Derby.

While I was in prison many people came far and near to see a man that had no sin; and divers of the professors came to discourse with me; and I had a sense, before they spake, that they came to plead for sin and imperfection. I asked them whether they were believers and had faith, and they said, "Yes." I asked them, "In whom?" and they said, "In Christ." I replied, "If ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life; and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the Devil, purify your hearts and consciences (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience), and it will bring you to please God, and give you access to Him again." But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over sin and the Devil; for they said they could not believe that any could be free from sin on this side the grave. I bid them give

over babbling about the Scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness.

At another time a company of professors came, and they also began to plead for sin. I asked them whether they had hope, and they said, "Yes, God forbid but we should have hope." I asked them, "What hope is it that you have? Is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as He is pure?" But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bid them, "Forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the holy men's words. For the holy men, that wrote the Scriptures, pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the Devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?"

Now the keeper of the prison,¹ being a high professor, was greatly enraged against me, and spake very wickedly of me: but it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was in great trouble and under great terrors of mind. As I was walking in my chamber I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife, "Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the priests and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and ale-houses." After this, towards the evening, he came up into my chamber, and said to me, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas trembling." And he desired that he might lie with me; I told him that I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he said nay, he would have my leave, and he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner; and he said he had been plagued, and his house had been plagued for my sake. So I suffered him to lie with me; and then he told me all his heart, and said he believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true; and he wondred that the other man that was put into prison with me did not stand to it; and said that man was a knave, and I was an honest man. He confessed also to me, that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, and he had refused to let me go, and I had laid the weight thereof upon him, that he used to be under great trouble, amazed, and distracted for some time after; and in such a condition that one might have killed him with a crab² (as he

¹ Thomas Sharman.

² That is, crab-apple (see page 62).

said). When the morning came, he rose, and soon after went to the justices, and told them that he and his house had been plagued for my sake; and one of the justices replied (as he reported to me), that the plagues were on them too for keeping me. This was Justice Bennet of Derby,¹ who was the first that called us Quakers, because we bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. This was in the year 1650.

After this the justices gave leave that I should have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and told the jailer if they would set down to me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it sometimes; for I had a sense they thought I would go away. And the jailer confessed afterwards, that they did it with that intent, to have me go away, to ease them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that spirit.

This jailer had a sister, a sickly young woman. She came up into my chamber to visit me; and after she had stayed some time, and I had spoken the words of Truth to her, she went down, and told them that we were an innocent people, and did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to them that hated us; and she desired them to be tender towards us.

Now forasmuch as, by reason of my restraint, I had not the opportunity of travelling about, to declare and spread Truth through the countries, it came upon me to write a paper, and send it forth to be spread abroad both amongst Friends and other tender people, for the opening of their understandings in the way of Truth, and directing them to the true Teacher in themselves.

While I was in the House of Correction, my relations came to see me; and being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison, and desired to have me home with them, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby with them in fifty pounds each, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests. So I was had up before the justices; and because I would not consent that they or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, and had spoken the word of life and truth unto them), Justice Bennet rose up in a rage; and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and struck me with both his hands, crying, "Away with him, jailer; take him away, jailer." And

¹ Gervase Bennett, of Snelston (*d.* 1670).

many times when they were setting me at liberty, then I was moved of the Lord God to write unto them, and then their rage would be up, and they would keep me in prison again. Whereupon I was had back again to prison, and there kept until the time of my commitment for six months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself, which I made use of as I felt freedom. Sometimes I went into the market and streets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedness; and so returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes went and visited them in their meetings on the First-days.

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While I was yet in the House of Correction, there came unto me a trooper, and said, as he was sitting in the steeple-house hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble came upon him; and the voice of the Lord came to him saying, "Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction." So I spake to his condition, and his understanding was opened. I told him that which shewed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would shew him his salvation; for he that shews a man his sin, is the same that takes it away. While I was speaking to him, the Lord's power opened him, so that he began to have a good understanding in the Lord's truth, and to be sensible of God's mercies; and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers, and to others, concerning Truth (for the Scriptures were very much opened to him), insomuch that he said his colonel was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison. Upon this his colonel had a spite against him; and at Worcester fight, the year after, when the two armies were lying near one another, two came out of the King's army and challenged any two of the Parliament army to fight with them; his colonel made choice of him and another to answer the challenge. And when in the encounter his companion was slain, he drave both his enemies within musket-shot of the town, without firing a pistol at them. This, when he returned, he told me with his own mouth. But, when the fight was over, he saw the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers; and being sensible how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him, and seeing also to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

Now the time of my commitment to the House of Correction being nearly out, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and

the soldiers cried they would have none but me. So the keeper of the House of Correction was commanded to bring me before the commissioners and soldiers in the market-place; and there they offered me that preferment (as they called it), asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart? I told them I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, according to James's doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. But they courted me to accept their offer, and thought I did but compliment with them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were. They said they offered it in love and kindness to me because of my virtue; and such like flattering words they used. But I told them if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they said, "Take him away, jailer, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons." So I was had away and put into a lousy, stinking place, low in the ground, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year, unless it were at times; for they would sometimes let me walk in the garden, having a belief that I would not go away. Now when they had got me into Derby dungeon, it was the belief and saying of people that I should never come out; but I had faith in God, and believed I should be delivered in His time; for the Lord had said to me before that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which He had for me to do.

After it was noised abroad that I was in Derby dungeon, my relations came to see me again; and they were much troubled that I should be in prison; for they looked upon it to be a great shame to them for me to be imprisoned for religion; and some thought I was mad, because I advocated purity, and righteousness and perfection.

Among others that came to see and discourse with me, was one Rice Jones,¹ from Nottingham, a soldier, that had been a Baptist (as I understood), and with him came several others, who were going to Worcester fight. In discourse he said to me, "Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there was never any such thing." I was exceeding grieved to hear him say so; and I said to him, "How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem through the professing Jews, and chief priests, and Pilate?" And he denied that ever Christ

¹ Rhys Johns.

suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him whether there were not chief priests, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, and when he could not deny that, then I told him, as certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man and his company was a slander raised upon us, that the Quakers denied Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem; which was all utterly false, and the least thought of it never entered our hearts; but it was a mere slander cast upon us, and occasioned by this person's words. The same person also said that never any of the prophets, or apostles, or holy men of God, suffered anything outwardly; but all their sufferings were inward. But I instanced to him how many of them suffered, and by whom they suffered: and so was the power of the Lord brought over his imaginations and whimsies, and so he went his way.

There came also another company to me, that pretended they were triers of spirits; I asked them what was the first step to peace, and what it was by which a man might see his salvation. And they were up in the air, and said I was mad. Thus they came to try spirits who did not know themselves nor their own spirits.

In this time of my imprisonment I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their Courts of judicature. I was moved to write to the judges concerning their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters; and to shew them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time; for I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it, and under the very sense of death; but standing in the will of God, a heavenly breathing arose in my soul to the Lord. Then did I see the heavens opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God.

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And two men suffered for small things; and I was moved to admonish them for their theft, to encourage them concerning their suffering, it being contrary to the law of God. And a little after they had suffered, their spirits appeared to me as I was walking, and I saw the men were well.

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Moreover I laid before the judges what a sore thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail; shewing how that they

learned badness one of another in talking of their bad deeds: and therefore speedy justice should be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God, and being grieved to hear their bad language, I was often made to reprove them for their wicked words and evil conduct towards each other. People admired that I was so preserved and kept; for they could never catch a word or action from me, to make anything of against me, all the time I was there; for the Lord's infinite power upheld and preserved me all that time; to Him be praises and glory for ever!

While I was here in prison, there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master of some money. When she was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and to the jury about her, shewing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing, and moving them to shew mercy. Yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her; and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all people to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God, but that all should fear the Lord and avoid all earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it: this I gave to be read at the gallows. And though they had her upon the ladder, with a cloth bound over her face, ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back again to prison: and in the prison she afterwards came to be convinced of God's everlasting truth.

There was also in the jail, while I was there, a prisoner, a wicked, ungodly man, who was a reputed conjuror. He threatened how he would talk with me, and what he would do to me; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And on a time, the jailer and he falling out, he threatned that he would raise the Devil, and break his house down, so that he made the jailer afraid. Then I was moved of the Lord to go in His power, and thresh him in it, and say unto him, "Come, let's see what thou canst do; do thy worst"; and I told him the Devil was raised high enough in him already; but the power of God chained him down so he slunk away and went from me.

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Now after I had seen the visitation of God's love pass away from this place, I knew that my imprisonment here would not continue long; but I saw that when the Lord should bring me forth, it would be as the letting of a lion out of a den amongst

the wild beasts of the forest. For all professions stood in a beastly spirit and nature, pleading for sin, and for the body of sin and imperfection, as long as they lived. And they all kicked, and yelled, and roared, and raged, and ran against the life and Spirit which gave forth the Scriptures, which they professed in words.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and I saw that the power of God went away from them as the waters ran from the town dam when the flood-gates were up; and the magistrates were uneasy about me; but they could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have me sent up to the Parliament; another while they would have banished me to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, and a seducer, and a blasphemer; afterwards, when God had brought His plagues upon them, they said I was an honest, virtuous man. But their good report or bad report, their well speaking or ill speaking, was nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other cast me down: praised be the Lord! At length they were made to turn me out of jail, about the beginning of winter, in the year 1651, after I had been a prisoner in Derby almost a year, six months in the House of Correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail and dungeon.

Thus being set at liberty again, I went on, as before, in the work of the Lord; and as I was walking in a close with several Friends, I lifted up my head and espied three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life. I asked them what place that was, and they said, Lichfield. Immediately the word of the Lord came to me that thither I must go. So, being come to the house we were going to, I bid Friends that were with me to walk into the house from me, saying nothing to them whither I was to go. As soon as they were gone I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch till I came within a mile of Lichfield, where, in a great field, there were shepherds keeping their sheep. I was commanded by the Lord, of a sudden, to untie my shoes and put them off. I stood still for it was winter, and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me, so I put off my shoes and was commanded to give them to the shepherds, and was to charge them to let no one have them except they paid for them. The poor shepherds trembled and were astonished.

Then I walked on about a mile till I came into the town, and as soon as I was got within the town the word of the Lord came to me again, to cry, "Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield!"

So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" It being market-day, I went into the market-place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, "Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield!" And no one laid hands on me; but as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market-place appeared like a pool of blood.

And so at last some Friends and friendly people came to me and said, "Alack, George, where are thy shoes?" I told them it was no matter.

Now when I had declared what was upon me, and cleared myself, I came out of the town in peace; and returning to the shepherds, gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes any more, and was at a stand whether I should or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do; and as at last I came to a ditch and washed my feet, I put on my shoes again. After this a deep consideration came upon me, why, or for what reason, I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it the bloody city. For though the Parliament had the minster one while, and the King another, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars between them, yet that could not be charged upon the town. But afterwards I came to understand that in the Emperor Dioclesian's time a thousand Christians were martyred in Lichfield, and so I must go in my stockings through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market-place, that I might raise up the memorial of the blood of those martyrs which had been shed above a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets. So the sense of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the Lord. Ancient records testify how many of the Christian Britons suffered there. Much I could write of the sense I had of the blood of the martyrs that had been slain in this nation for the name of Christ, both under the ten persecutions and since; but I leave it to the Lord, and to His book, out of which all shall be judged; for His book is a most true record, and His Spirit a true recorder.

CHAPTER III

NORTHWARD TO SWARTHMOOR

1651-1652

THEN I passed up and down through the countries, having meetings amongst friendly people in many places; but my relations were offended at me. After some time I returned into Nottinghamshire, to Mansfield, and went into Derbyshire, visiting Friends. Then passing into Yorkshire, I preached repentance through Doncaster, and several other places; and after came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and some others were convinced. So travelling through several places, preaching repentance and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield where James Nayler lived; he and Thomas Goodyear came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife, with many more, came to me, who were convinced and received the truth.

From thence I passed through the country towards Captain Pursloe's house by Selby,¹ and visited John Leek, who had been to visit me in Derby prison and was convinced. I had a horse, but was fain to leave him, not knowing what to do with him; for I was moved to go to many great houses to admonish and exhort the people to turn to the Lord. Thus passing on, I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverley steeple-house, which was then a place of high profession; and being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn, and as soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house came to the door, and said, "What! is it you? come in," as if she had known me before; for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed; and in the morning, my clothes being still wet, I got ready, and having paid for what I had had in the inn, I went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their Teacher, Christ Jesus. The power of the Lord was so strong, that it struck a mighty dread amongst the people. The mayor came

¹ Probably Richard Pursglove, of Cranswick.

down to me and took me by the hand, and spoke a few words to me; but none of them had any power to meddle with me. So I passed away out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple-house about two miles off. When the priest had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people very largely, shewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said he was but a child and could not dispute with me; I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one Seed, which the promise of God was to, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day and preach among them; but I directed them to their Teacher, Christ Jesus, and so passed away, and came to an inn where they were loath to receive me unless I would go first to the constable, which was the custom of their country. I was not free so to do; but told them I was an innocent man and should lie out rather. So at last they received me, and I stayed there all night.

The next day I went to Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to Justice Hotham's. This Justice Hotham¹ was a pretty, tender man, one that had had some experiences of God's workings in his heart. After some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet; where, sitting together, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now publish it abroad to the people. After a while there came a priest to visit him, with whom also I had some discourse concerning Truth. But his mouth was quickly stopped, for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

While I was here, there came a great woman of Beverley to speak to Justice Hotham about some business; and in discourse she told him, that the last Sabbath-day (as she called it) there came an angel or spirit into the body of the church (meaning the steeple-house), and spake strange things and the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came nor whither it went; but it astonished all, both priests, professors, and magistrates of the town. This relation Justice Hotham gave me afterwards, and then I gave him an account how I had been that day at Beverley steeple-house, and had declared Truth to the priest and the people

¹ This was probably Durand Hotham, of Lockington (1619-1691).

there. There were in the country thereabouts some great high priests and doctors, with whom Justice Hotham was acquainted. He would fain have them speak with me, and offered to send for them, under pretence that there was a patient at his house that wanted physic, but I wished him not to do so.

Now when the First-day of the week was come, Justice Hotham walked out with me into the fields; and Captain Pursloe coming up after us, Justice Hotham left us and returned home, but Captain Pursloe went with me into the steeple-house. When the priest had done, I spake both to priest and people; declared to them the word of life and truth, and directed them where they might find their Teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. Some were convinced, received the truth, and stand fast in it; and have a fine meeting there-a-ways to this day.

In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and sate me down till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price." Then was I moved of the Lord to say unto him, "Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a-year of them, for preaching the Scriptures to them! Mayest thou not blush for shame! Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spake the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to His ministers, whom He sent to preach, 'Freely ye have received, freely give'?" The priest, like a man amazed, packed away. After he was gone and had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from darkness to the light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

Then having cleared myself amongst the people, I returned to Justice Hotham's house that night, who, when I came in, took me in his arms and said his house was my house, for he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that His power was revealed. Then he told me why he went not with me to the steeple-house in the morning, and what reasonings he had in himself about it; for he thought, if he had gone with me

to the steeple-house, the officers would have put me to him; and then he should have been so put to it, that he should not have known what to do. But he was glad, he said, when Captain Pursloe came up to go with me; yet neither of them was dressed, nor had his band about his neck. It was a strange thing then to see a man come into a steeple-house without a band; yet Captain Pursloe went in with me without his band, the Lord's power and truth had so affected him that he minded it not.

From hence I passed on through the country, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I asked the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said Thee and Thou to her she looked strangely on me. Then I asked her if she had any milk; and she said, "No." I was sensible she spoke falsely, and being willing to try her further, I asked her if she had any cream; she denied that she had any. Now there stood a churn in her house, and a little boy, playing about it, put his hand into it, and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifested to be a liar. She was amazed, and blessed herself, and taking up the child, whipped it sorely; but I reprov'd her for her lying and deceit. After the Lord had thus discovered her deceit and perverseness, I walked out of the house, and went away till I came to a stack of hay, and lay in the haystack that night in rain and snow, it being but three days before the time called Christmas.

The next day I came into York, where were several people that were very tender. Upon the First-day of the week following, I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great minster, and speak to the priest Bowles¹ and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went: and when the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. "Then say on quickly," said a professor that was among them, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps; but I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging again. Several were convinced there, for the very groans that arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, and strike them, and make them confess that the groans which brake forth through me did reach them, for my

¹ Edward Bowles (1613-1662), Presbyterian.

life was burthened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit.

After I had done my present service in York, and several were convinced there, received the truth of God, and were turned to His teaching, I passed out of York, and looking towards Cleveland, I saw there was a people that had tasted of the power of God. I saw then there was a seed in that country, and that God had an humble people there.

The day following I passed to Cleveland, amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God. They had formerly had great meetings, but were then all shattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned Ranters. I told them that after they had had such meetings, they did not wait upon God to feel His power, to gather their minds inward, that they might feel His presence and power amongst them in their meetings, to sit down therein, and wait upon Him; for they had spoken themselves dry; they had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of, they were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings still; but they took tobacco and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose. But my message unto them from the Lord was that they should all come together again, and wait to feel the Lord's power and spirit in themselves, to gather them to Christ, that they might be taught of Him who says, "Learn of me." For when they had declared that which the Lord had opened to them, then the people were to receive it; and both the speakers and hearers were to live in that themselves. But when these had no more to declare but went to seek forms without life, that made themselves dry and barren, and the people also; and from thence came all their loss: for the Lord renews His mercies and His strength to them that wait upon Him. The heads of these people came to nothing: but most of them came to be convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

Upon the First-day of the next week, the word of the Lord came to me to go to the steeple-house there, which I did. When the priest had done I spake the truth to him and the people, and directed them to their Teacher within, Christ Jesus, their free Teacher, that had bought them. The priest came to me, and I had a little discourse with him; but he was soon stopped,

and silent. Then being clear of the place, I passed away, having had several meetings amongst those people.

Though at this time the snow was very deep, I kept travelling; and going through the country, came to a market-town, where I met with many professors, with whom I had much reasoning. I asked them many questions, which they were not able to answer; saying they had never had such deep questions put to them in all their lives.

From them I went to Staithes, where also I met with many professors, and some Ranters. I had great meetings amongst them, and a great convincement there was. Many received the truth, amongst whom one was a man of an hundred years of age, another was a chief constable, and a third was a priest whose name was Philip Scafe.¹ Him the Lord, by His free Spirit, did afterwards make a pretty minister of His free gospel.

The priest of this town was a lofty one, who much oppressed the people for his tithes. If they went a-fishing many leagues off, he would make them pay the tithe-money of what they made of their fish, though they caught them at a great distance, and carried them as far as Yarmouth to sell. I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, to declare the truth, and lay open the priest. When I had spoken to him, and laid his oppressing of the people upon him, he fled away. The chief of the parish were very light and vain; so after I had spoken the word of life to them, I turned away from them, because they did not receive it, and left them. But the word of the Lord, which I had declared amongst them, stuck with some of them; so that at night some of the heads of the parish came to me, and most of them were convinced and satisfied, and confessed to the truth. Thus the truth began to spread in that country, and great meetings we had, at which the priest began to rage and the Ranters to be stirred; and they sent word that they would have a dispute with me, both the oppressing priest and the leader of the Ranters. A day was set, and the Ranter came with his company; and another priest, a Scotchman, one Levens, came; but not the oppressing priest of Staithes. Philip Scafe, who had been a priest, and was convinced, was with me; and a great number of people met. When we were settled, the Ranter, whose name was T. Bushel, told me he had had a vision of me; that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; and he did so; and many other flattering words he spake. I told him it was

¹ More accurately, Philip Scarth.

his own figure, and said unto him, "Repent, thou beast." He said it was jealousy in me to say so. Then I asked him the ground of jealousy, and how it came to be bred in man, and the nature of a beast, what made it, and how it was bred in man. For I saw him directly in the nature of the beast; and therefore I wished to know of him how that nature came to be bred in him. I told him he should give me an account of the things done in the body, before we came to discourse of things done out of the body. So I stopped up his mouth, and all his fellow Ranters were silenced; for he was the head of them.

After the meeting, this Scottish priest desired me to walk with him atop of the cliffs; whereupon I called William Ratcliffe, a brother-in-law of his, who was in some measure convinced, and desired him to go with me, telling him I desired to have some friendly man by to hear what we said, lest the priest, when I was gone, should report anything of me which I did not say. So we went together; and as we walked, the priest asked me many things concerning the light, and concerning the soul; to all which I answered him fully. When he had done questioning, we parted, and he went his way; and meeting with the other priest, Philip Scafe, that was convinced, he broke his cane against the ground in madness, and said if ever he met with me again, he would have my life, or I should have his; adding that he would give his head, if I was not knocked down within a month. By this, Friends suspected that his intent was, in desiring me to walk with him alone, either to have thrust me down from off the cliff, or to have stabbed me; and that when he saw himself frustrated in that, by my having one with me, it made him rage. For before this came to pass, I being one day at his house, I saw a dog-like nature in him. And I was moved to tell him he was a dog, and so his nature shewed itself. I feared neither his prophecies nor his threats, for I feared God Almighty. But many weak Friends, through their affection to me, feared much that this priest would do me some mischief, or set on others to do it. Yet after some years this very Scottish priest, and his wife also, came to be convinced of the truth; and about twelve years after this I was at their house.

After this, there came another high priest to a meeting where I was, one that was in repute above all the priests in the country. As I was speaking in the meeting that the gospel was the power of God, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men,

and was turning people from darkness to the light, this high priest said the gospel was mortal. I told him, the true minister said the gospel was the power of God, and would he make the power of God mortal? Upon that the other priest, Philip Scafe, that was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himself, took him up and reprov'd him; so a great dispute arose between them; the convinced priest holding that the gospel was immortal, and the other high priest that it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this opposing priest, and stopp'd his mouth; and many people were convinced, seeing the darkness that was in the high priest, and the light that was in the convinced priest. But people generally waited to see the fulfilling of the other Scottish priest's prophecy that I should be knocked down before the month's end, and some were afraid; but I bid them fear God and not man, for I was not afraid of him.

Then another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and Friends went with me to the house where he was; but when he understood we were come, he slipped out of the house, and hid himself under a hedge. The people went to seek him, and found him, but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a steeple-house hard by, where the priest and people were in a great rage: this priest had threatn'd Friends what he would do; but when I came there he would not stand, but fled; for the Lord's power came over him and them. Yea, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and reach'd to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit, in which they held their profession of religion and worship, so that it was a dreadful thing unto them, when it was told them, "The man in leathern breeches is come." At the hearing thereof the priests, in many places, would get out of the way, they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God; and fear surpris'd the hypocrites.

From this place we pass'd to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had some services for the Lord; there are large meetings settl'd there since. From thence I pass'd over the Wolds to Malton, where we had great meetings; as we had also at the towns thereabouts. At one town a priest sent me a challenge to dispute with me; but when I came, he would not come forth; so I had a good opportunity with the people, and the Lord's power seiz'd upon them. One, who had been a wild, drunken man, was so reach'd therewith, that he came to me as

lowly as a lamb; though he and his companions had before sent for drink to make the rude people drunk on purpose that they might abuse us. When I found the priest would not come forth, I was moved to go to the steeple-house; the priest was confounded, and the Lord's power came over all.

On the First-day following, came one of the highest Independent professors, a woman, who had let in such a prejudice against me, that she said before she came, she could willingly have gone to the hanging of me: but when she came, she was confounded and convinced, and remains a Friend to this day.

Then I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there were; to which more people would have come but durst not for fear of their relations; for it was thought a strange thing then to preach in houses, and not go to the church (as they called it); so that I was much desired to go and speak in the steeple-houses. One of the priests wrote to me, and invited me to preach in the steeple-house, calling me his brother. Another, a high priest, kept a lecture there. Now the Lord had shewed me, while I was in Derby prison, that I should speak in steeple-houses, to gather people from thence; and a concern sometimes would come upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests lolled in. For the steeple-houses and pulpits were offensive to my mind, because both priests and people called them the house of God, and idolised them; reckoning that God dwelt there in the outward house. Whereas they should have looked for God and Christ to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be made the temples of God; for the Apostle said, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands": but by reason of the people's idolising those places, it was counted a heinous thing to declare against them. When I came into the steeple-house, there were not passing eleven hearers, and the priest was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was in the steeple-house, it was soon filled with people. When the priest that preached that day had done, he sent the other priest that had invited me thither, to bring me up into the pulpit; but I sent back word to him that I needed not to go into the pulpit. Then he sent to me again, desiring me to go up into it: for he said it was a better place, and there I might be seen of the people. I sent him word again, I could be seen and heard well enough where I was; and that I came not there to hold up such places, nor their maintenance and trade. Upon my saying so, they began to be angry, and said, "These false prophets were to come in the last times." Their saying so grieved many of

the people, and some began to murmur at it. Whereupon I stood high upon a seat and cried for audience; and I declared unto them the marks of the false prophets, and shewed that they were already come; and set the true prophets, and Christ, and His apostles over them; and manifested these to be out of the steps of the true prophets, and of Christ and His apostles. I directed the people to their inward Teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from darkness to the light. And having opened divers Scriptures to them, I directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to Him, and by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were. So having had a large opportunity among them, I departed in peace.

After some time I came to Pickering, where in the steeple-house the justices held their Sessions, Justice Robinson¹ being chairman. I kept a meeting in the school-house at the same time; and abundance of priests and professors came to it, asking questions, which were answered to their satisfaction. Four chief constables and many other people were convinced that day; and word was carried to Justice Robinson that his priest was overthrown and convinced, whom he had a love to more than to all the priests besides. After the meeting, we went to an inn. Justice Robinson's priest was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner, and would have wiped my shoes, but I would by no means suffer it. Then he offered that I should have his steeple-house to preach in, but I denied it, and told him and the people that I came to bring them off from such things to Christ.

The next morning I went with the four chief constables, and others, to visit Justice Robinson, who met me at his chamber door. I told him I could not honour him with man's honour. He said he did not look for it. So I went into his chamber, and opened to him the state of the false prophets, and of the true prophets; and set the true prophets, and Christ, and the apostles over the other; and directed his mind to Christ his Teacher. I opened to him the parables, and how election and reprobation stood; as that reprobation stood in the first birth and election stood in the second birth. I shewed also what the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. He confessed to it all; and was so opened with the truth, that when another justice that was present made some little opposition, he informed him. At our parting, he said it was very well

¹ Luke Robinson, M.P. for Scarborough.

that I exercised that gift which God had given me. He took the chief constables aside, and would have given them some money for me, saying he would not have me at any charge in their country; but they told him that they could not persuade me to take any; and so they refused his money, and accepted of his love and kindness.

From thence I passed up into the country, and the priest that called me brother (in whose school-house I had the meeting at Pickering) went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang. I asked what they rang for: and they said for me to go and preach in the steeple-house. After some time I felt drawings that way; and as I walked to the steeple-house, I saw the people were gathered together in the yard. The old priest¹ would have had me to go into the steeple-house; but I said it was no matter. It was something strange to the people that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. I stood up in the steeple-house yard, and declared to the people that I came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their augmentations, nor their priests' wages, nor their Jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions (for I denied all these), and told them that that piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground.

Therefore I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, and directed them to the spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts, that they might come to know Christ, their free Teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity amongst them to open things largely unto them. All was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord!

I passed on to another town, where there was another great meeting, the old priest before mentioned going along with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it, purposely to dispute. I sate on a haystack, and spake nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words. The professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak. He bad them wait; and told them that the people waited upon Christ a long while before He spake. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power; the word

¹ His name appears to have been Boys.

of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

From hence I passed on, the old priest being still with me, and several others. As we went along, some people called to him, and said, "Mr. Boys, we owe you some money for tithe, come and take it." But he threw up his hands, and said he had enough, he would have none of it; they might keep it; and he praised the Lord he had enough.

At length we came to this old priest's steeple-house in the Moors¹; and when we were come into it, he went before me, and held open the pulpit door; but I told him I should not go into it. This steeple-house was very much painted. I told him and the people that the painted beast had a painted house.

After this we went to one Birdet's house,² where I had a great meeting, and this old priest accompanied me still, leaving his steeple-house; for he had been looked upon as a great high priest, above Common-Prayer-men, and Presbyters, and Independents too. Before he was convinced, he went sometimes into their steeple-houses and preached; for he had been a zealous man in his way. And when they complained of him to Justice Hotham, he bid them distrain his horse for travelling on the Lord's day (as he called it); but Hotham did that only to put them off, for he knew the priest used no horse, but travelled on foot.

Now I came towards Cranswick, to Captain Pursloe's and Justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad that the Lord's power had so appeared; that Truth was spread, and so many had received it; and that Justice Robinson was so civil. Justice Hotham said if God had not raised up this principle of light and life which I preached, the nation had been overrun with Ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; "because," said he, "they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth," said he, "overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof"; and therefore he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

From thence I travelled up to Holderness, and came to a justice's house, whose name was Pearson, where there was a

¹ Perhaps Kirkby Moorside = Kirk-by-moorside.

² At Egton Bridge.

very tender woman, that believed in the truth, and was so affected therewith, that she said she could have left all and have followed me.

Thence I went to Oram,¹ to one George Hartis's, where many of that town were convinced. On the First-day I was moved to go into the steeple-house, where the priest had got another to help him; and many professors and contenders were assembled together. But the Lord's power was over all; the priests fled away, and much good service I had for the Lord amongst the people. Some of those great professors were convinced, and became honest, faithful Friends, being men of account in the place.

The next day, Friends and friendly people having left me, I passed alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst people in the towns where I came, and sometimes by the seaside, and warning them to repent. One day, I came towards night into a town called Patrington; and as I walked along the town, I warned both priest and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent and turn to the Lord. Now it grew dark before I came to the end of the town; and a multitude of people gathered about me, to whom I declared the word of life. When I had cleared myself, I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. Then I desired them to let me have a little meat and milk, and I would pay them for it; but they would not. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed me, and asked me, "What news?" I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I had passed a pretty way out of the town I came to another house, and desired the people to let me have a little meat and drink and lodging for my money; but they denied me. Then I went to another house and desired the same; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; but I discerned a ditch, and got a little water and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch, and being weary with travelling, sate down among the furze-bushes till it was day. About break of day I got up and passed on in the fields. A man came after me with a great pike, and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. So I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; and exhorted them to repent. But they seized me, and had me back to Patrington,

¹ Now Ulrome.

about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, pikes, stakes, and halberds.

Now when I was come back to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and constables were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongst them, and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, not having eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice. When I was come near his house, a man came riding after me, and asked me whether I was the man that was apprehended. I asked him wherefore he asked. He said, "For no hurt"; and I told him I was; so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said it was well if the justice was not drunk before we got to him; for he used to be drunk very early. Now when I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat and said Thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me whether I was not mazed or fond; but the man told him, no, it was my principle. Then I warned him to repent, and come to the light, which Christ had enlightened him with, that by it he might see all his evil words and actions, and to return to Christ Jesus whilst he had time; and that whilst he had time he should prize it. "Ay, ay," said he, "the light that is spoken of in the third of John." I desired him that he would mind it and obey it. As I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets of letters or intelligence. I plucked out my linen, and shewed him that I had no letters. He said, "He is not a vagrant, by his linen"; and then he set me at liberty. I went back to Patrington with the man that had ridden before me to the justice; for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me have a meeting at the Cross; but I said it was no matter, his house would serve. He desired me to go and lie down upon a bed or in the bed, that he and his wife might say they had seen me in a bed, or upon a bed; for a report had been raised that I would not lie in any bed, because at that time I lay many times without doors. Now when the First-day of the week was come, I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Presently after I had a great meeting at that man's house where I lay, and many were con-

vinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses for it to this day. They were exceeding sorry that they did not receive me nor give me lodging when I was there before.

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Then I returned to Patrington again, and visited those Friends that were convinced there; by whom I understood that a tailor, and some wild blades in that town, had made that warrant to carry me before the justice. The tailor came to ask me forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him. The constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them. But I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid was this: when I was in the steeple-house at Oram not long before, there came a professor, who gave me a push in the breast in the steeple-house, and bid me get out of the church. "Alas, poor man!" said I, "dost thou call the steeple-house the church? The church is the people, whom God hath purchased with His blood, and not the house." It happened that Justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse, sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the Sessions; so affected was he with the truth, and so zealous to keep the peace. And indeed this Justice Hotham had asked me before whether any people had meddled with me, or abused me; but I was not to tell him anything, but was to forgive all.

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After this I passed, in the Lord's power, into Yorkshire, came to Warmsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the forenoon, but they shut the door against me; yet after a while they let in Thomas Aldam, who went in to his seat, and then shut the door again; and the priest fell upon him, asking him questions. At last they opened the door, and I went in. As soon as I was in the priest's sight, he left preaching, though I said nothing to him, and asked me, "What have you to say?" and presently cried out, "Come, come, I will prove them false prophets, in Matthew"; but he was so confounded, he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me, asking me many questions, and I stood still all this while, not saying anything amongst them. At last I said, "Seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them." But as soon as I began to speak, the people violently rushed upon me, and thrust me out of the steeple-house again, and locked the door on me. As soon as they had

done their service, and were come forth, the people ran upon me and beat me, and threw clods at me, and struck me with their crab-tree staves; the priest also, being in a great rage, laid violent hands on me himself. But I warned them and him of the terrible day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Christ. Being filled with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, but the priest had done before I got thither; so I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward Teacher, Jesus Christ.

From hence I went to Balby, and so to Doncaster, where I had formerly preached repentance on the market-day; which had made a great noise and a dread in the country. On the First-day I went to the steeple-house, and after the priest had done, I spake to him and the people what the Lord had commanded me; and they were in a great rage, plucked me out, threw me down, and haled me before the magistrates. A long examination they made of me, and much work I had with them. They threatned my life if ever I came there again; and that they would leave me to the mercy of the people. Nevertheless, I declared Truth amongst them, and directed them to the light of Christ in them; testifying unto them that God was come to teach His people Himself, whether they would hear or forbear. After a while they put us out (for some Friends were with me) among the rude multitude, and they stoned us down the streets. An innkeeper, that was a bailiff, came and took us into his house; and the rude people brake his head, that the blood ran down his face, with the stones that they threw at us. We stayed a while in his house, and shewed the more sober people the priest's fruits. Then we went to Balby, about a mile off, and the rude people laid wait for us, and stoned us down the lane; but, blessed be the Lord, we did not receive much hurt.

The next First-day I went to Tickhill, whither the Friends of that side gathered together. When Friends were in the meeting, and fresh and full of the life and power of God, I was moved to go out of the meeting to the steeple-house; and when I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel. So I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; and the clerk up with his Bible, as I was speaking, and struck me on the face with it, so that it gushed out with blood, and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. Then the people cried, "Let us have him

out of the church"; and when they had got me out, they beat me sore with books, fists and sticks, and threw me down, and over a hedge into a close, and there beat me and threw me over again; and afterwards they dragged me through a house into the street, stoning and beating me as they drew me along, so that I was besmeared all over with blood and dirt. They got my hat from me, which I never got again. Yet when I was got upon my legs again, I declared to them the word of life, and shewed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonoured Christianity. After a while I got into the meeting again amongst Friends; and the priest and people coming by the house, I went forth with Friends into the yard, and there I spake to the priest and people. The priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest began trembling himself; and one of the people said, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also." When the meeting was over, Friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby, about seven or eight miles. Friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people; insomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came, and sate at the town to hear and examine the business. And he that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off for striking me in the steeple-house, but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.

In the beginning of this year 1652 great rage got up in priests and people, and in some of the magistrates of the West Riding of Yorkshire, against the truth and Friends; insomuch that the priest of Warmsworth procured a warrant from the justices against me and Thomas Aldam, to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. At the same time I saw a vision of a man and two great mastiff dogs and a bear, and I passed by them, and they smiled upon me, and did me no hurt; and it proved so, for the constable took Thomas Aldam and carried him to York. I went with Thomas Aldam twenty miles towards York: and the constable had the warrant for me also, and said he saw me, but he was loath to trouble men that were strangers; but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. So the Lord's power restrained him, that he had not power to meddle with me. We came to Lieutenant Roper's, where we had a great meeting of many considerable men; and the truth was wonderfully declared amongst them. The constable stayed with

Thomas Aldam till the meeting was over, and then went towards York prison; but did not meddle with me.

From hence I went to Wakefield; and on the First-day after, I went to a steeple-house, where James Nayler had been a member of an Independent church;¹ but upon his receiving Truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me suddenly, thrust me out at the other door, punching and beating me, and cried, "Let us have him to the stocks." But the Lord's power restrained them that they were not suffered to put me in. So I passed away to the meeting, where were a great many professors and friendly people gathered, and a great convincement there was that day; for the people were mightily satisfied that they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves. Here we got some lodging; for four of us had lain under a hedge the night before, there being then few Friends in that place.

The same day Richard Farnsworth went to another great steeple-house, belonging to a high priest, and declared the word of truth unto the people; and a great service he had amongst them, that the people said we made more noise² in the country than the coming up of the Scotch army; the Lord's dread and power was mightily over all.

The priest of that church which James Nayler had been a member of, whose name was Marshall,³ raised many wicked slanders upon me, as that I carried bottles and made people drink of them, which made them follow me; and that I rid of a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon it in one hour, and at the same hour in another country threescore miles off; and that I would give a fellow money to follow me, when I was on my black horse. With these hellish lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I was then travelling on foot, and had no horse at that time; which the people generally knew. The Lord not long after cut off this envious priest in his wickedness.

After this I came to High-Town, where dwelt a woman who had been convinced a little before. We went to her house, and

¹ Woodchurch (West Ardsley).

² Common talk.

³ Christopher Marshall (c. 1614-1673).

had a meeting; and the people gathered together, and we declared the truth to them, and had some service for the Lord amongst them; they passed away again peaceably. But there was a widow woman, named Green, who, being filled with envy, went to one that was called a gentleman in the town (who was reported to have killed two men and one woman), and informed him against us, though he was no officer. The next morning we drew up some queries to be sent to the priest. When we had done, and were just going away, some of the friendly people of the town came running up to the house where we were, and told us that this murdering man had sharpened a pike to stab us, and was coming up with his sword by his side. We were just passing away, and so missed him. But we were no sooner gone, than he came to the house where we had been, and the people generally concluded if we had not been gone he would have murdered some of us. That night we lay in a wood, and were very wet, for it rained exceedingly. In the morning I was moved to return to the town, when they gave us a full relation of this wicked man.

From hence we passed to Bradford, where we met with Richard Farnsworth again, from whom we had parted a little before. When we came in, they set meat before us; but as I was going to sup of their posset the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Eat not thy bread with such as have an evil eye." Immediately I arose from the table, and ate nothing. The woman of the house was a Baptist. After I had exhorted the family to turn to the Lord Jesus Christ, and hearken to His teachings in their own hearts, we departed thence.

As we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, the Lord said unto me, if that I did but set up one in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in that gave forth the Scriptures, he or she should shake all the country in their profession ten miles about them. And if they did own God and Christ and His prophets and apostles they must own him or her. For people had the Scriptures, but were not in that same light, and power, and spirit which they were in that gave forth the Scriptures; and so they neither knew God, nor Christ, nor the Scriptures aright; nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and spirit of God. Therefore as we passed along we warned all people, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

As we travelled we came near a very great hill, called Pendle-

Hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it; which I did with difficulty, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire, and there, on the top, I was moved to sound the day of the Lord, and the Lord let me see in what places He had a great people to be gathered. As I went down I found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having eaten or drunk but little for several days before.

At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and wrote a paper to the priests and professors. The man of the house did spread the paper abroad, and was mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river that parted two counties,¹ coming to the Lord; and the place that I saw them in was near John Blaykling's where Richard Robinson lived.²

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or brackens to put under us, and lay upon a common.

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In my way up Wensleydale I came to a great house, where was a schoolmaster; and they got me into the house. I asked them questions about their religion and worship; and afterwards I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was distracted, and had run away from my relations: and that they would keep me till they could send to them. But I soon convinced them of their mistake, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay; but I was not to stay there. Then having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto Him and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. Because I would not drink with them, they got up their clubs and were striking at me in a rage; but I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I walked out of the house upon the common in the night. After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but I perceived he had a knife, and therefore I kept off him, and bid him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by His power pre-

¹ The Lune.

² That is, in the district of Sedbergh and Brigflatts, north-west Yorkshire.

served me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again. The next morning I went on through other Dales, warning and exhorting people everywhere as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord: and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, the man of the house (whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blaykling's) would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

As I travelled through the Dales, I came to a man's house, whose name was Tennant.¹ I was moved to speak to the family, and declare God's everlasting truth to them; and as I was turning away from them, I was moved to turn again, and speak to the man himself; and he was convinced, and his family, and lived and died in the truth. Thence I came to Major Bousfield's,² in Garsdale, who received me, as did also several others; and some that were then convinced have stood faithful ever since. I went also through Grisedale, and several others of those Dales, in which some were convinced. And I went into Dent, where many were convinced also. From Major Bousfield's I came to Richard Robinson's, and as I was passing along the way, I asked a man which was Richard Robinson's, and he asked me from whence I came. I told him, "From the Lord." And so when I came in to Richard Robinson's I declared the everlasting truth to him. And yet a dark jealousy rose up in him after I was gone to bed that I might be somebody that was come to rob his house; and he locked all his doors fast.

The next day I went to a meeting at Justice Gervase Benson's, where I met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place I had seen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced.

In the same week there was a great fair at Sedbergh, at which servants used to be hired; and I declared the day of the Lord through the fair. After I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard and got up by a tree, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me, and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord and the word of life for several hours, shewing that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ the true Teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, shewing that they were like them that were of old condemned by the prophets,

¹ James Tennant, of Scarhouse in Langstrothdale, died in 1674.

² Miles Bousfield.

and by Christ, and by the apostles. I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands; and wait to receive the spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared; but at last a captain said, "Why will you not go into the church? this is not a fit place to preach in." I told him I denied their church. Then stood up a Separate preacher, one Francis Howgill; he had not seen me before, yet he undertook to answer that captain, and soon put him to silence. Then said Francis Howgill of me, "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes." After this I opened to the people that that ground and house was no holier than another place; and that that house was not the church, but the people, whom Christ is the head of. After a while the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent. One of them said I was mad, and so they turned away. But many people were convinced there that day, and were glad to hear the truth declared, and received it with joy. And so I passed away and came into a house, and there came in one Captain Ward,¹ and he said my very eyes pierced through him; and he received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

The next First-day I came to Firbank Chapel, in Westmorland, where Francis Howgill, before named, and John Audland had been preaching in the morning. The chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. Francis Howgill said he thought I looked into the chapel, and that I might have killed him with a crab-apple, the Lord's power did so surprise him; but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done, and they and some of the people went to dinner, but abundance stayed till they came again. Now John Blaykling and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly; for they were not parish teachers, but pretty, tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or not (though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them), but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings. While the others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook and got a little water; and then came and sate me down on the top of a rock, for the word of the Lord came to me I must go and sit down upon the rock in the mountain as Christ had done before. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several Separate teachers. It was judged there were above a thousand people, amongst whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of

¹ Henry Ward, of Sunnybank, Grayrigg, died in 1674.

life freely and largely, for about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that they might be turned from darkness to the light, and believe in it, that they might become the children of it; and might be turned from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; and by the spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, and of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified, and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in.

Now there were many old people, who went into the chapel and looked out of the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill, and not in their church, as they called it.

Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced; and all the Separate teachers¹ were convinced of God's everlasting truth.

After the meeting was over I went to John Audland's, and there came John Story to me and lighted his pipe of tobacco. And said he, "Will you take a pipe of tobacco?" saying, "Come; all is ours." And I looked upon him to be a forward bold lad; and tobacco I did not take, but it came into my mind that the lad might think I had not unity with the creation. For I saw he had a flashy, empty notion of religion. So I took his pipe and put it to my mouth, and gave it to him again to stop him lest his rude tongue should say I had not unity with the creation.

From thence I came to Preston-Patrick chapel, where a great meeting was appointed; to which I went, and had a large opportunity amongst the people to preach the everlasting gospel, opening to them (as to others on the like occasion), that the end of my coming into that place was, not to hold it up, no more than the apostles' going into the Jewish synagogues and temple was to uphold those, but to bring them off from all such things, as the apostles brought the saints of old from off

¹ That is, teachers in congregations of "Seekers" who had separated themselves from all religious bodies.

the Jewish temple and Aaron's priesthood (and afterwards they met in houses), that they might come to witness their bodies to be the temples of God, and Christ in them to be their Teacher.

From this place I went to Kendal, where a meeting was appointed in the town-hall; in which I declared the word of life amongst the people, shewing them how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and have a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God, and what would be their condemnation. After the meeting I stayed a while in the town; several were convinced there, and many appeared loving. One, whose name was Cock, met me in the street, and would have given me a roll of tobacco, for people then were much given to smoking. I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco.

From thence I went to Underbarrow, to one Miles Bateman's; and as I came on the way, several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest and many professors came to the house, and much disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them, but told them if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for it, and some against it. In the morning I went out, after I had spoken again to them concerning the meeting; and as I was walking upon the top of the bank there were several poor people, travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; so, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Meanwhile some of them that were in the house, coming out again, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant, except I had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by; for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me, that many of them were against having a meeting with me. I told them I ran after those poor people to give them some money, being grieved at their hard-heartedness, who gave them nothing. Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty, who, being more simple-hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel I went, and the priest came. A great meeting

there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened; and after a while the priest fled away. Many of Crook and Underbarrow were convinced that day, received the word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus. After I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief constable and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel-yard; whereupon I took a Bible, and opened to them the Scriptures, and shewed them chapter and verse, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. They that were in the light of Christ, and Spirit of God, knew when I spake Scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse after the priest's form unto them.

From hence I went along with an aged man, whose heart the Lord had opened, and he invited me to his house; his name was James Dickinson;¹ he was convinced that day, received the truth, and lived and died in it.

I came the next day to James Taylor's, of Newton in Cartmel, in Lancashire. And on the First-day of the week I went to the chapel where one priest Camelford² used to preach; and after he had done I began to speak the word of life to the people. But this priest was in such a rage, and was so peevish, that he had no patience to hear; but stirred up the rude multitude, who haled me out, struck and punched me, and threw me headlong over a stone wall; yet, blessed be the Lord, His power preserved me. He that did this violence to me was a wicked man, one John Knipe, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. There was a youth in the chapel, writing after the priest; I was moved to speak to him, and he came to be convinced, and became a fine minister of the gospel; his name was John Braithwaite.

Then I went up to an ale-house, to which many people resorted between the time of their morning and afternoon preaching. I had much reasoning with the people there, declaring to them that God was come to teach His people Himself, and to bring them off from all false teachers, such as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles cried against. Many received the word of life at that time, and abode in it.

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to another steeple-house or chapel, called Lyndal. When the priest had done, I spake to him and the people what the Lord commanded me; and there were great opposers; but afterwards they came to be convinced.

¹ Dickinson lived at Crosthwaite, in Westmorland.

² Gabriel Camelford, of Staveley, died in 1676.

After this I went to one Captain Sands,¹ who with his wife seemed somewhat affected with Truth; and if they could have held the world and Truth together they would have received it; but they were hypocrites, and he a very chaffy light man, and the way was too strait for them. Wherefore I reprov'd him for his lightness, and for his jesting, telling him it was not seemly in a great professor, as he was. He told me he had a son, who upon his death-bed had also reprov'd him for it, and warn'd him of it. But he neither regarded the admonition of his dying son, nor the reproofs of God's Spirit in himself.

From hence I went to Ulverston, and so to Swarthmoor to Judge Fell's;² whither came up one Lampitt,³ a priest, who was a high notionist and a Ranter in his mind. With him I had much reasoning; for he talk'd of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceiv'd the people. He would have own'd me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and made as though he knew all things. But I told him death reign'd from Adam to Moses, that he was under death, and knew not Moses, for Moses saw the paradise of God; but he knew neither Moses, nor the prophets, nor John. For that crook'd and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruption; and the way was not prepar'd in him for the Lord. He confess'd he had been under a cross in things; but now he could sing psalms, and do anything. I told him now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him, but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same spirit that they were in. Margaret Fell⁴ had been absent in the day-time; and at night, when she came home, her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagree'd, which somewhat troubled her, because she was in profession with him; but he hid his dirty actions from them. At night we had much reasoning, and I declar'd the truth to her and her family.

The next day Lampitt came again, and I had much discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discern'd the priest. A convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Soon after a day was to be observ'd for a humiliation, and Margaret Fell ask'd me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverston, for she was not wholly come off from them; I

¹ Adam Sands, chief constable of Ulverston.

² Thomas Fell (1598-1658), of Swarthmoor Hall.

³ William Lampitt, vicar of Ulverston, died 1677.

⁴ Margaret Fell (1614-1702), wife of Judge Fell and later wife of George Fox.

replied, "I must do as I am ordered by the Lord." So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me, saying, "Go to the steeple-house after them." When I came, Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, "He is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly, whose praise is not of man, but of God." Then, as the Lord opened further, I shewed them that God was come to teach His people by His Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways, religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, worships and ways were but talking with other men's words; but they were out of the life and spirit which they were in who gave them forth. Then cried out one, called Justice John Sawrey, "Take him away"; but Judge Fell's wife said to the officers, "Let him alone; why may not he speak as well as any other?" Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, "Let him speak." So at length, when I had declared some time, Justice Sawrey, a rotten professor who was very full of hypocrisy and deceit and envy, caused the constable to put me out; and then I spake to the people in the grave-yard, and after came up to Swarthmoor Hall.

The First-day after, I was moved to go to Aldingham steeple-house; and when the priest had done, I spake to him; but he got away. Then I declared the word of life to the people, and warned them to turn to the Lord.

From thence I passed to Rampside, where was a chapel in which Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was a high priest. He very lovingly acquainted his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon; by which means all the country were gathered together. When I came, I saw there was no place so convenient as the chapel; so I went into it, and all was quiet. Thomas Lawson went not up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. The everlasting day of the eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlasting truth was largely declared, which reached and entered into the hearts of people, and many received the truth in the love of it. This priest came to be convinced, left his chapel, threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jesus and His kingdom freely. After that some rude people cast scandals upon him, and thought to have done him a mischief; but he was carried over all, grew in the wisdom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

I returned to Swarthmoor again, and on the next First-day went to Dalton steeple-house; where, after the priest had done, I declared the word of life to the people, that they might be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, and might come off from their superstitious ways, and from their teachers made by man, to Christ, the true and living way, to be taught of Him.

From thence I went into the island of Walney; and after the priest¹ had done, I spake to him, but he got away. Then I declared the truth to the people, but they were rude. I went to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen. The people said he went to hide himself in the haymow; and they went to look for him there, but could not find him. Then they said he was gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there either. So I went to James Lancaster's,² who was convinced in the island; and thence I returned to Swarthmoor, where the Lord's power came upon Margaret Fell and her daughter Sarah, and several others.

Then I went to Baycliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel. Several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said they could not dispute, and would fain have put some other to converse with me; but I bid them fear the Lord, and not in a light way talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice. I directed them to the divine light of Christ and His Spirit in their hearts, which would discover to them all the evil thoughts, words, and actions they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and also their Saviour, Christ Jesus, to save them from their sins. This, I told them, was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the light that shewed them their sins and transgressions; by which they might come to see how they were in the fall of old Adam, in darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world; and by the same light they might see Christ, that died for them, to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaston,³ which was built but no priest had ever preached in it. Thither the country people came, and a quiet, peaceable meeting it was, in which

¹ "Mr. Soutwerke" was minister of Walney, between 1649 and 1657.

² James Lancaster lived at Northscale in the northern part of the island.

³ This was the place called Dendron. The chapel was built in 1642, but was not used till long after the time of Fox's visit.

the word of life was declared, and many were convinced of the truth about Gleaston.

From thence I returned to Swarthmoor. After I had stayed a few days, and most of the family were convinced, I went again into Westmorland, where priest Lampitt had been amongst the professors on Kendal side, and had mightily incensed them against me, telling them I held many strange things; I met with those he had so incensed, and sate up all night with them at James Dickinson's,¹ and answered all their objections. They were both thoroughly satisfied with the truth that I had declared, and dissatisfied with him and his lies, so that he clearly lost the best of his hearers and followers, who thus came to see his deceit, and forsook him.

I passed on to John Audland's and Gervase Benson's, and had great meetings amongst those people that had been convinced before; then to John Blaykling's and Richard Robinson's, and had mighty meetings there; and so up towards Grisedale.

Soon after, Judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell, his wife, sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and, feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, I went back to Swarthmoor. I found the priests and professors, and that envious Justice Sawrey, had much incensed Judge Fell and Captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him, I answered all his objections; and so thoroughly satisfied him by the Scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment. He asked me if I was that George Fox whom Justice Robinson spake so much in commendation of amongst many of the Parliament men. I told him I had been with Justice Robinson, and with Justice Hotham, in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me, and that they were convinced in their judgment by the Spirit of God, that the principle which I bore testimony to was the truth, and they saw over and beyond the priests of the nation; so that they, and many others, were now come to be wiser than their teachers. After we had discoursed some time together, Judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died; for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the Teacher of His people, and their Saviour. He sometimes wished that I were a while with Judge Bradshaw² to discourse with him. There

¹ At Crosthwaite.

² John Bradshaw (1602-1659), president of the Court that tried and sentenced Charles I.

came to Judge Fell's, Captain Sands before mentioned, endeavouring to incense the judge against me, for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me, and yet he could speak high things, and use the Scripture words, and say, "Behold, I make all things new." But I told him, then he must have a new god, for his god was his belly. Besides him came also that envious justice, John Sawrey. I told him his heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim. Several other people also came, whose states the Lord gave me a discerning of; and I spake to their conditions. While I was in those parts, Richard Farnsworth and James Nayler came to see me and the family; and James Nayler was under a fast fourteen days; and Judge Fell, being satisfied that it was the way of Truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, suffered the meeting to be kept at his house; and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which has remained above twenty years to this day.¹

After I had stayed a while, and the meeting there was well settled, I went to Kellet, and had a great meeting at Robert Widders's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York; and many were convinced there.

And there was a captain stood up after the meeting was done and asked me where my leather breeches were, and I let the man run on a while; and at last I held up my coat and said, "Here are my leather breeches which frighten all the priests and professors."

And Margaret Fell had a vision of a man in a white hat that should come and confound the priests, before my coming into those parts.

And another man had a vision of me that a man in leather breeches should come and confound the priests; and this man's priest was the first that was confounded and convinced.

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On a First-day I went to a steeple-house by the water side,² where one Whitehead was priest, to whom, and to the people, I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. There came to me a doctor, who was so full of envy, that he said he could find in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he should be hanged for it the next day; yet this man came afterwards to

¹ The meeting at Swarthmoor Hall was first held in 1652, and continued till 1690 when a meeting-house was built.

² Halton, on the Lune, near Lancaster, where Thomas Whitehead was rector.

be convinced of the truth so far as to be loving to Friends. Some people were convinced thereabouts, who willingly sate down under the ministry of Christ their Teacher; and a meeting was settled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.

After this I returned into Westmorland, and spake through Kendal on a market-day. I had silver in my pocket, and I was moved to throw it out amongst the people as I was going up the street. So dreadful was the power of God upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses and shops. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach His people Himself. When some opposed many others took my part, insomuch that at last some of the people fell to fighting about me; but I went and spake to them, and they parted again. Several were convinced.

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After I had travelled up and down in those countries, and had had great meetings, I came to Swarthmoor again, whither came four or five of the priests. Coming to discourse, I asked them whether any one of them could say he ever had a word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people. None of them durst say so; but one of them burst out into a passion, and said he could speak his experiences as well as I. I told him experience was one thing; but to receive and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had and did, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, could any of them say he had ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time. But none of them could say so.

At another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at Judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare His word or message unto them. For any one, I told them, that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the Scriptures. Hereupon one of them, Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before Judge Fell that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people, but he spake his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed Judge Fell

in the persuasion he had, that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, that they were sent from God. Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time.

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After this, on a lecture-day, I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverston, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went up near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching; and after the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey, the justice, came to me and said, if I would speak according to the Scriptures, I should speak. I stranged¹ at his speaking so to me, for I did speak according to the Scriptures, and I told him I should speak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself who had said just before, I should speak if I would speak according to the Scriptures. The people were quiet, and heard me gladly, until this Justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer up of cruel persecution in the North) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. Suddenly the people were in a rage, and fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face; knocked me down, kicked me, and trampled upon me, he looking on; and so great was the uproar, that some tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me and put me out of the town. They led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold of my collar, and some by my arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me along. Many friendly people being come to the market, and some of them to the steeple-house to hear me, divers of these they knocked down also, and brake their heads, so that the blood ran down from several of them so as I never saw the like in my life; and Judge Fell's son² running after, to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, "Knock the teeth out of his head."

Now when they had haled me to the common moss-side, a multitude of people following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow-rods, and

¹ Wondered.

² George Fell (c. 1639-1670), only son.

so thrust me among the rude multitude, who, having furnished themselves, some with staves, some with hedge-stakes, and others with holm-bushes, fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had mazed me, so that I fell down upon the wet common. When I recovered again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while; and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the eternal refreshings refreshed me, so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the Eternal God; and stretching out my arms amongst them, I said with a loud voice, "Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks." There was in the company a mason, a professor, a rude fellow; he with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might just over the back of my hand as it was stretched out; with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so numbed, that I could not draw it unto me again; so that some of the people cried out, "He hath spoiled his hand for ever having the use of it any more." But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to them all that had persecuted me), and after a while the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a minute I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all. Then they began to fall out among themselves, and some of them came to me, and said if I would give them money they would secure me from the rest. But I was moved of the Lord to declare to them the word of life, and shewed them their false Christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry; telling them they were more like heathens and Jews than true Christians.

Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go into Ulverston market. As I went, there met me a soldier, with his sword by his side. "Sir," said he to me, "I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused"; and he offered to assist me in what he could. But I told him the Lord's power was over all; so I walked through the people in the market, and none of them had power to touch me then. But some of the market-people abusing some Friends in the market, I turned me about and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier, whereupon I ran in amongst them, and catching hold of his hand that his rapier was in, I bid him put up his sword again if he would go along with me; for I was willing to draw him out from the company lest some mischief should be done. Yet a few days

after seven men fell upon this soldier, and beat him cruelly, because he had taken part with Friends and me; for it was the manner of the persecutors of that country for twenty or forty people to run upon one man. And they fell so upon Friends in many places, stoning, beating, and breaking their heads, so that they could hardly pass the highways. When I came to Swarthmoor, I found the Friends there dressing the heads and hands of Friends and friendly people which had been broken or hurt that day by the professors and hearers of Lampitt, the priest. My body and arms were yellow, black, and blue with the blows and bruises I received amongst them that day. Now began the priests to prophesy again, that within half a year we should be all put down and gone.

About two weeks after this I went into Walney Island, and James Nayler went with me. We stayed over-night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where one was convinced. After a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out to him, he snapped his pistol at me but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him to prevent his doing mischief; but I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by the power of the Lord, that he trembled for fear and went and hid himself in a cellar. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

Next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's. As soon as I came to land, there rushed out about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing poles, who fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavouring to thrust me backward into the sea. When they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would have knocked me down in it, I went up into the midst of them; but they laid at me again, and knocked me down, and mazed me. When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband, James Lancaster, was lying atop of me, to keep the blows and the stones off me. For the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband; and had promised her that if she would let them know when I came hither, they would be my death. And having got knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that

they could not take away my life. At length I got up on my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into it, and set me over the water from them, but while we were on the water within their reach, they struck at us with long poles and threw stones after us. By the time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Nayler; for whilst they had been beating me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, "Kill him, kill him."

When I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with muckforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart, and carry him away to the churchyard." So after they had abused me, they drove me some distance out of the town, and there left me. Then went James Lancaster back to look after James Nayler; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had besmeared my face, hands and clothes with miry dirt), I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house,¹ where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced. When I came in, I could hardly speak to them, I was so bruised; only I told them where I left James Nayler; so they took each of them a horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent a horse for me; but so sore I was with bruises, I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain. When I was come to Swarthmoor, Justice Sawrey, and one Justice Thompson² of Lancaster, granted a warrant against me; but Judge Fell coming home it was not served upon me; for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus cruelly abused. When he came home, he sent forth warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country. James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evil she had done me; and so did others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them. This persecuting Sawrey at last was drowned, and the vengeance of God overtook Justice Thompson that he was struck with the dead palsy upon the Bench and carried away off his seat and died. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do

¹ At Rampside.

² Probably George Toulson, an ex-mayor of Lancaster, died 1655.

no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made light of it, and that I spake of it as a man that had not been concerned; for, indeed, the Lord's power healed me again.

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CHAPTER IV

TRIAL AT LANCASTER AND IMPRISONMENT IN CARLISLE

1652-1653

THE time for the Sessions at Lancaster being come, I went thither with Judge Fell; who on the way told me he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus, the governor, and King Agrippa, beckoned to him to speak for himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those false accusations; so he might do with me. Being come to Lancaster, Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the Sessions; where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshall,¹ priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest, and two priests' sons, to bear witness against me, who had sworn beforehand that I had spoken blasphemy. When the justices were sate, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me; their orator Marshall sitting by and explaining their sayings for them; but the witnesses were so confounded, that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the Court had examined one of them upon oath, and then began to examine another, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, "Have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it."

There were then in Court several people who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spake those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these being men of integrity and reputation in the country, declared and affirmed

¹ Dr. William Marshall.

in Court, that the oath which the witnesses had taken against me was altogether false; and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting. Indeed, most of the serious men of that part of the country, that were then at the Sessions, had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that and other meetings also. This was taken notice of by Colonel William West, who, being a justice of the peace, was then upon the Bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord, and said the Lord had healed him that day; adding that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. And then, turning himself to me, he said, "George, if thou hast anything to say to the people, thou mayst freely declare it in the open Sessions." I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshall, the orator for the rest of the priests, went away. That which I was moved to declare was this: that the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God, and all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the prophets and the apostles learnt; and by the same Spirit know the Holy Scriptures; for as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scriptures, so the same Spirit of God must be in all them that come to understand the Scriptures; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Son, and with the Father, and with the Scriptures, and with one another; and without this Spirit they can know neither God nor Christ, nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowship one with another. I had no sooner spoken these words, than about half a dozen priests that stood behind me burst out into a passion; and one of them, named Jackus,¹ amongst other things that he spake against the truth, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, "Then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures." This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them, that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures. Upon this the priests, being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. The justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that

¹ John Jaques, minister of Bolton-le-Sands.

all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, discharged me. And after Judge Fell had spoken to Justice Sawrey and Justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and shewed them the errors thereof, he and Colonel West granted a *supersedeas* to stop the execution of it.

Thus was I cleared in open Sessions of all those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge; and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people. For the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak His word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reproved the priests in their inns, and in the streets; so that they fell, like an old rotten house; and the cry was among the people, that the Quakers had got the day and the priests were fallen. Many people were convinced that day.

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At this time I was in a fast, and was not to eat until this work of God, which then lay weighty upon me, was accomplished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully set over all, and gave me dominion over all to His glory. His gospel was freely preached that day, over the heads of about forty hireling priests. I stayed two or three days afterwards in Lancaster, and had some meetings there; and the rude and baser sort of people plotted together to draw me out of the house, and to throw me over Lancaster bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another stratagem, which was this: after a meeting at Lancaster they brought down a distracted man, and another with him, in their waistcoats, with bundles of birchen rods bound together like besoms, with which they would have whipped me: but I was moved to speak to them in the Lord's mighty power, which chained down the distracted man and made him like a lamb, and the other also. Then I bid him throw his rods into the fire and burn them; and he did so. Thus the Lord's power being over them, they departed quietly.

But the priests, fretting to see themselves overthrown at the Sessions at Lancaster, got some of the envious justices to join with them; and, at the following Assize at Lancaster, informed Judge Windham against me. Whereupon the judge made a speech against me in open Court; and commanded Colonel West, who was clerk of the Assize, to issue forth a warrant for the apprehending of me; but Colonel West told the judge of my

innocency, and spake boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or go off from his seat: then he told the judge plainly that he would not do it, he should do it himself; but that he would offer up all his estate, and his body also, for me. Thus he stopped the judge; and the Lord's power came over all, so that the priests and justices could not get their envy executed. That same night I came into Lancaster, it being the Assize time, and hearing of a warrant to be given out against me, I judged it better to shew myself openly than for my adversaries to seek me. So I went to Judge Fell's and Colonel West's chambers. As soon as I came in they smiled on me; and Colonel West said, "What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?" I stayed in town till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town but no one meddled with me or questioned me. Thus the Lord's blessed power, which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, gave dominion over His enemies, and enabled me to go on in His glorious work and service for His great name's sake. For though the beast maketh war against the saints, yet the Lamb hath got, and will get, the victory.

From Lancaster I returned to Robert Widders's, and from thence I went to visit Justice West, Richard Hubberthorne accompanying me. Not knowing the way, or the danger of the Sands, we rode where, as we were afterwards told, no man ever rode before, swimming our horses over a very dangerous place. When we were come in, Justice West asked us if we did not see two men riding over the Sands: "I shall have their clothes anon," said he, "for they cannot escape drowning, and I am the coroner." But when we told him that we were the men he was astonished, and wondered how we escaped drowning. Upon this the envious priests and professors raised a slanderous report concerning me, that neither water could drown me, nor could they draw blood of me; and that therefore surely I was a witch; indeed, sometimes when they beat me with great staves, they did not much draw my blood, though they bruised my body oftentimes very sorely. But all these slanders were nothing to me with respect to myself, though I was concerned on the truth's behalf, which I saw they endeavoured by these means to prejudice people against.

Having visited Justice West, I went to Swarthmoor, visiting Friends; and the Lord's power was over all the persecutors there. I was moved to write several letters to the magistrates, priests, and professors thereabouts who had raised persecution

before. One I sent to Justice Sawrey, the first persecutor in that country, who was drowned. I wrote also to William Lampitt, priest of Ulverston, and to his followers, and to the people of Ulverston in general. I was moved to write to Adam Sands, one of the chief hearers of priest Lampitt, a very wicked, false man, who afterwards died miserably; also to priest Tatham and to Burton, priest of Sedbergh.¹ Many other epistles also and papers I writ about this time, as the Lord moved me thereunto.

It was now about the beginning of the year 1653, when I returned to Swarthmoor. Great openings I had from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things, relating to the civil government. For being one day in Swarthmoor Hall, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were talking of the news in the News Book, and of the Parliament then sitting, which was called the Long Parliament, I was moved to tell them that before that day two weeks the Parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair.² And that day two weeks Justice Benson, coming thither again, told Judge Fell that now he saw George was a true prophet; for Oliver had broken up the Parliament. And many openings I had of several things which would be large to utter.

About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on Truth's account; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company had true openings at the first; but getting into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from Truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go and shew them their outgoings: and they were brought to see their folly, and condemned it, and came into the way of Truth again. After some time I went to a meeting at Arnside, where Richard Myer was. Now he had been long lame of one of his arms. I was moved of the Lord to say unto him, amongst all the people, "Prophet Myer, stand up on thy legs" (for he was sitting down): and he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and said, "Be it known unto you, all people, that this

¹ Perhaps Leonard Burton, vicar of Sedbergh 1660-1682, who, at this time, may have been assistant to his predecessor.

² The Long Parliament was dissolved on 20th April.

day I am healed." Yet his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, they had him into a house, took off his doublet, and then saw it was true. He came soon after to Swarthmoor meeting, and there declared how the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from Him, but he disobeyed the Lord; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three-quarters of a year after.

Now were great threatnings given forth in Cumberland, that if ever I came there again they would take away my life. When I heard it I was drawn to go into Cumberland, and went to Miles Wennington's, in the same parish from which those threatnings came; but they had not power to touch me.

About this time Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of Friends. He came over to Swarthmoor; and I being then at Colonel West's, they sent for me. Colonel West said, "Go, George, for it may be great service to the man." So I went, and the Lord's power reached him.

I went again into Cumberland, and Anthony Pearson and his wife, and several Friends, went with me to Bootle, where Anthony Pearson left me and went to Carlisle Sessions, for he was a justice of the peace in three counties; over his head they carried a sword when he went to the Bench.

On a First-day I went into the steeple-house at Bootle. The priest of that parish, hearing of my coming, had got another to help him, a priest from London. I was moved to speak in his time, he uttered such wicked things, and therefore, for the truth's sake, I was moved to speak to him if I had been imprisoned for it. But the people were exceeding rude, and struck and beat me in the yard. One gave me a very great blow with a great hedge-stake over my wrist, so that the people thought he had broken my hand to pieces. Yet I felt no harm, the power of the Lord bare all off. The constable was very desirous to keep the peace, and would have set some of them by the heels that struck me, if I would have given way to it.

In the afternoon I went again to the steeple-house and Friends with me. I sate down and heard till the London priest had done, though several Friends spake in his time. He gathered up all the Scriptures he could think of that spake of false prophets and anti-Christ's, and deceivers, and threw them upon us, but when he had done I recollected all those Scriptures and brought them back upon himself. Then the people fell upon me in a rude

manner, but the constable charged them to keep the peace in the name of the Commonwealth, and so made them quiet again.

Then the priest began to rage and said I must not speak there. I told him he had his hour-glass, by which he had preached, and he having done, the time was free for me. He had accused me that I had broken the law in speaking to him in his time in the morning, and I told him he had broken the law then in speaking in my time. All was quiet while I was speaking; but when I had done, and was come out, the priests were both of them in such a rage that they foamed at the mouth for anger against me. The priest of the place made an oration to the people in the steeple-house yard, and said, "This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him; and now," said he, "he comes here to do the same." Then said I unto him, "What wilt thou have left? and what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if it be the honest that receive the truth, and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art."

Now was I moved to send James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at John Wilkinson's steeple-house near Cockermouth, who was a preacher in great repute, and had three parishes under him.

The next day we came to the steeple-house where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve soldiers and their wives, who were come thither from Carlisle; and the country people came in, as if it had been to a fair. I lay at a house a short distance from the place, so that many Friends got thither before me. When I came, I found James Lancaster speaking under a yew tree; which was so full of people that I feared they would break it down. I looked about for a place to stand upon, to speak to the people; for they lay all up and down like people at a leaguer. After I was discovered, a professor came to me, and asked if I would not go into the church; seeing no place convenient to speak to the people from, I told him, "Yes"; whereupon the people rushed in, so that when I came in the house and the pulpit was so full of people that I had much ado to get in; and they that could not get in stood about the walls. When the people were settled, I stood up on a seat; and the Lord opened my mouth to declare His everlasting truth.

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So when I had largely declared the word of life unto them,

for about three hours, I walked from amongst the people, and they passed away very well satisfied.

Among the rest a professor followed me, praising and commencing me; but his words were like a thistle to me. At last I turned about, and bid him fear the Lord; whereupon priest Larkham,¹ of Cockermouth (for several priests were got together on the way who came after the meeting was over), said to me, "Sir, why do you judge so? you must not judge." But I turned to him and said, "Friend, dost not thou discern an exhortation from a judgment? I admonished him to fear God; and dost thou say I judge him?" So this priest and I falling into discourse, I manifested him to be amongst the false prophets and covetous hirelings. And several people being moved to speak to him, he and two others of the priests soon got away. When they were gone, John Wilkinson, who was preacher of that parish, and of two other parishes in Cumberland, began to dispute against his own conscience for several hours, till the people generally turned against him; for he thought to have tired me out, but the Lord's power tired him out, and the Lord's truth came over him and them all. Many hundreds were convinced that day, and received the Lord Jesus Christ, and His free teaching, with gladness; of whom some have died in the truth, and many stand faithful witnesses thereof. The soldiers also were convinced, and their wives, and continued with me till the First-day.

On the First-day I went to the steeple-house at Cockermouth, where priest Larkham lived. When he had done, I began to speak, and the people began to be rude; but the soldiers told them we had broken no law, and they became quiet. Then I turned to the priest, and laid him open among the false prophets and hirelings; at which word the priest went his way, and said, "He calls me hireling"; which was true enough, and all the people knew it. Then some of the great men of the town came to me, and said, "Sir, we have no learned men to dispute with you." I told them I came not to dispute, but to shew the way of salvation to them, the way of everlasting life. I declared largely the way of life and truth, and directed them to Christ their Teacher, who had died for them, and bought them with His blood.

When I had done, I went about two miles to Brigham, to another great steeple-house of John Wilkinson's, that stood in a field, where the people, having been at the other meeting, were

¹ George Larkham, M.A., Independent.

mightily affected, and would have put my horse into the steeple-house yard; but I said, "No, the priest claims that; take him to an inn." When I came into the steeple-house yard, I saw the people coming in great companies, as to a fair; and abundance were already gathered in the lanes, and about the steeple-house. I was very thirsty, and walked about a quarter of a mile to a brook, where I got some water, and refreshed myself. As I came up again, I met priest Wilkinson, who, as I passed by him, said, "Sir, will you preach to-day? If you will," said he, "I will not oppose you in word or thought." I replied, "Oppose if thou wilt; I have something to speak to the people. And," said I, "thou carriedst thyself foolishly the other day, and spake against thy conscience and reason; insomuch that thy hearers cried out against thee." So I left him, and went on; for he saw it was in vain to oppose, the people were so affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the steeple-house yard, a professor came to me, and asked if I would not go into the church (as he called it). And I seeing no more convenient place to stand to speak to the people from, went in, and stood up on a seat after they were settled. The priest came in also, but did not go up to his pulpit.

And so I declared His everlasting truth and word of life to the people.

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After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. And as I was sitting in a house full of people, declaring the word of life unto them, I cast mine eye upon a woman, and discerned an unclean spirit in her. And I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her, and told her she was a witch; whereupon she went out of the room. Now, I being a stranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered at it, and told me afterwards that I had discovered a great thing; for all the country looked upon her to be a witch. The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. For not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and I discerned them to be witches; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions. At another time there came such an one into Swarthmoor Hall in the meeting time; and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was a witch; and the people said afterwards she was generally

accounted so. There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, "Thou hast been a harlot"; for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. The woman answered and said many could tell her of her outward sins, but none could tell her of her inward. Than I told her her heart was not right before the Lord, and that from the inward came the outward. This woman came afterwards to be convinced of God's truth, and became a Friend.

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From thence passing on we came to Carlisle, and the pastor of the Baptists, with most of his hearers, came to me to the Abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongst them; and many of the Baptists, and of the soldiers, were convinced. After the meeting, the pastor of the Baptists, a high notionist and a flashy man, came to me, and asked me what must be damned; I was moved immediately to tell him that which spake in him was to be damned. This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him, and he also came afterwards to be convinced.

Then I went up to the Castle among the soldiers, who beat a drum, and called the garrison together. I preached the truth amongst them, directing them to the Lord Jesus Christ to be their Teacher, and to the measure of His Spirit in themselves, by which they might be turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God. I warned them all that they should do no violence to any man, but should shew forth a Christian life; telling them that He who was to be their Teacher would be their condemner if they were disobedient to Him. So I left them, having no opposition from any of them except the sergeants, who afterwards came to be convinced.

On the market-day I went up into the market, to the market-cross. Now the magistrates had both threatened and sent their serjeants; and the magistrates' wives had said that if I came there they would pluck the hair off my head, and that the serjeants should take me up. Nevertheless, I obeyed the Lord God and went upon the cross, and there declared unto them that the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings and deceitful merchandise; and that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to Yea and Nay, and speak the truth one to another; so the truth and the power of God was set over them. After I had declared the word of

life to the people, the throng became so great that the serjeants could not get to me, nor the magistrates' wives come at me, so I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some Baptists that were bitter contenders; amongst whom one of their deacons, an old man, finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I set my eyes upon him, and spake sharply to him in the power of the Lord; and he cried, "Do not pierce me so with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me."

On the First-day following I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongst them. The priest got away, and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them I came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. The power of the Lord was dreadful amongst them in the steeple-house, so that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple-house shook: and some of them feared it would fall down on their heads. The magistrates' wives were in a rage, and strove mightily to be at me; but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city rose, and came with staves into the steeple-house, crying, "Down with these round-headed rogues"; and they threw stones. Whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house to appease the tumult, and commanded all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner and said they would have me along with them. When we came forth into the street, the city was in an uproar, and the governor came down; and some of those soldiers were put in prison for standing by me, and for me, against the town's-people. A lieutenant, that had been convinced, came, and had me to his house, where there was a Baptists' meeting, and thither came Friends also, and we had a very quiet meeting; they heard the word of life gladly and many received it.

The next day, the justices and magistrates of the town being gathered in the town-hall, they granted a warrant against me, and sent for me to come before them. I was then gone to a Baptist's house; but hearing of it, I went up to the hall to them, where many rude people were, some of whom had sworn strange, false things against me. After a large examination they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, a heretic, and a seducer, though they could not justly charge any such thing

against me. The jail at Carlisle had two jailers, an upper and an under, who looked like two great bear-wards.¹ Now when I was brought in, the upper jailer had me up into a great chamber, and told me I should have what I would in that room. But I told him he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room, where, after a while, I got something to lie upon. There I lay till the Assizes came; and then all the talk was that I was to be hanged. The high sheriff, whose name was Wilfred Lawson, stirred them much up to take away my life, and said he would guard me to my execution himself. They were in a black, dark rage, and set three musketeers for a guard upon me; one at my chamber door, another at the stairs' foot, and a third at the street door; and they would let none come at me, except one, sometimes, to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, droves of them, sometimes as late as the tenth hour; who were exceeding rude and devilish. There was a company of bitter Scotch priests, Presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed; but the Lord, by His power, gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits. Great ladies also and countesses came to see the man that they said was to die. Now, while both the judge, justices, and sheriff were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their design by an unexpected way; for the judge's clerk (as I was informed) started a question among them which confounded all their counsels; so that after that they had not power to call me before the judges.

Anthony Pearson being then in Carlisle, and perceiving that they did not intend to bring me, as was expected, upon my trial, writ a letter to the judges.

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Notwithstanding this letter, the judges were resolved not to suffer me to be brought before them; but, reviling and scoffing at me behind my back, left me to the magistrates of the town, giving them what encouragement they could to exercise their cruelty upon me. Whereupon (though I had been kept up so close in the jailer's house that Friends were not suffered to visit me, and Colonel Benson and Justice Pearson were denied to see me) the next day, after the judges were gone out of town,

¹ Or bear-herds.

an order was sent to the jailer to put me down into the dungeon among the moss-troopers,¹ thieves and murderers, which accordingly he did. A filthy nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and not even a house of office to it; and the prisoners so lousy that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice. Yet, as bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me; and some of them were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old; so that they were able to confound any priest that might come to the grates to dispute. But the jailer was very cruel, and the under-jailer very abusive to me and to Friends that came to see me; for he would beat Friends with a great cudgel that did but come to the window to look in upon me, as if he had been beating a pack of wool. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat; at which the jailer was often offended. One time he came in a great rage, and beat me with a great cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, "Come out of the window," though I was then far enough from it. While he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power; and that made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and made the fiddler sigh and give over fiddling and pass away with shame.

Justice Benson's wife was moved of the Lord to come to visit me, and to eat no meat but what she ate with me at the bars of the dungeon window. She was afterwards herself imprisoned at York, when she was great with child, for speaking to a priest; and was kept in prison, and not suffered to go out when the time of her travail was come; so she was delivered of her child in the prison.² She was an honest, tender woman, and continued faithful to the truth until she died.

Whilst I was in the dungeon at Carlisle, James Parnell, a little lad of about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced. And the Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him, though he lived not long. For, travelling into Essex, in the work

¹ Moss-troopers were marauders who infested the mosses or borderland of England and Scotland prior to the union of the two kingdoms.

² Dorothy Benson. Her child, Immanuel, was born in York Castle, 2 xii. 1653.

of the ministry, in the year 1655, he was committed to Colchester Castle, where he endured very great hardships and sufferings; being put by the cruel jailer into a hole in the castle wall, called the Oven, so high from the ground, that he went up to it by a ladder, which being six feet too short, he was obliged to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. And when Friends would have given him a cord and a basket, to draw up his victuals in, the inhuman jailer would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope, to fetch his victuals (which for a long time he did), or else he might have famished in the hole. At length, his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being constrained to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope, and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was exceedingly wounded in his head and arms, and his body was so much bruised, that he died in a short time after.

Now when I saw that I was not like to be brought to a public hearing and trial (although I had before answered, in writing, the particular matters charged against me, at the time of my first examination and commitment), I was moved to send the following paper, as a public challenge to all those that belied the truth and me behind my back, to come forth and make good their charge:

If any in Westmorland, or Cumberland, or elsewhere, that profess Christianity, and pretend to love God and Christ, are not satisfied concerning the things of God, which I, George Fox, have spoken and declared, let them publish their dissatisfaction in writing, and not back-bite, nor lie, nor persecute, in secret: this I demand of you all in the presence of the living God, as ye will answer it to Him. For the exaltation of the truth, and the confounding of deceit, is this given forth. To that of God in your consciences I speak; declare or write your dissatisfactions to any of them whom you call Quakers, that Truth may be exalted, and all may come to the light, with which Christ has enlightened every one that cometh into the world: that nothing may be hid in darkness, in prisons, holes, or corners, but that all things may be brought to the light of Christ, and by it may be tried.

This am I moved of the Lord to write, and send forth to be set upon the market-crosses in Westmorland, and elsewhere. To the light of Christ in you I speak, that none of you may speak evil of the things of God, which you know not; nor act contrary to the light, that gave forth the Scriptures; lest you be found fighters against God, and the hand of the Lord be turned against you.

G. F.

While I thus lay in the dungeon at Carlisle, the report raised at the time of the Assize that I should be put to death was gone far and near; insomuch that the Little Parliament then sitting, hearing that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, caused a letter to be sent to the sheriff and magistrates concerning me.

Not long after this, the Lord's power came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty. But some time previous, the governor, and Anthony Pearson, came down into the dungeon to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. They found the place so bad, and the savour so ill, that they cried shame on the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things. They called for the jailers into the dungeon, and required them to find sureties for their good behaviour, and the under-jailer, who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the dungeon with me, amongst the moss-troopers.

In Northumberland many came to dispute, of whom some pleaded against perfection: unto whom I declared that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the Devil and the fall; but Christ, that came to destroy the Devil, said, "Be ye perfect." One of the professors alleged that Job said, "Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clean in His sight. God charged His angels with folly." But I shewed him his mistake, and let him see that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against Job; for Job stood for perfection, and held his integrity: and they were called miserable comforters. Then these professors said the outward body was the body of death and sin. I shewed them their mistake in that also; for Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them; and that man and woman will have bodies when the body of sin and death is put off again; when they are renewed up into the image of God again by Christ Jesus, which they were in before they fell. So they ceased at that time from opposing further; and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

We came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of many thousands of people atop

of a hill near Langlands.¹ A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all; and there were as many as one could well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were fixed on Christ their Teacher; and they came to sit under their own vine, insomuch that Francis Howgill, coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words, for they were sitting under their Teacher, Christ Jesus; in the sense whereof he sate down amongst them, without speaking anything. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishopruck,² Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Yorkshire; and the plants of God grew and flourished, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them, so that many mouths were opened by the Lord to His praise; yea, to babes and sucklings He ordained strength.

After I came out of Carlisle prison I went into the Abbey Chamber, and there came in a mad woman that sometimes was very desperate. And she fell down of her knees and cried, "Put off your hats, for grace, grace hangs about thy neck." And so the Lord's power ran through her that she was sensible of her condition, and after came and confessed it to Friends.

And I came to another place in Cumberland, where a man's wife was distracted and very desperate, attempting at times to kill her children and her husband. But I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her, and she kneeled down of her bare knees and cried, and said she would work of her bare knees if she might go with me. And the Lord's power wrought through her and she went home well.

And in Bishopruck, whilst I was there, they brought a woman, tied behind a man, that could neither eat nor speak, and had been so a great while. And they brought her into the house to me to Anthony Pearson's. And I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her, that she ate and spake and was well; and got up behind her husband without any help and went away well.

And as I came out of Cumberland, one time, I came to Hawkshead, and lighted at a Friend's house. And there was young Margaret Fell with me and William Caton. And it being a very cold season, we lighted, and the lass made us a fire, her master and dame being gone to the market. And there was a boy lying in the cradle which they rocked, about eleven years old. And he was grown almost double. And I cast my eye upon

¹ Langlands, in Uldale parish, was the home of Christopher Fell.

² That is, County of Durham.

the boy; and seeing he was dirty, I bid the lass wash his face and his hands, and get him up and bring him unto me. So she brought him to me, and I bid her take him and wash him again, for she had not washed him clean. Then was I moved of the Lord God to lay my hands upon him and speak to him, and so bid the lass take him again and put on his clothes. And after we passed away.

And sometime after I called at the house, and I met his mother, but did not light. "Oh! stay," says she, "and have a meeting at our house, for all the country is convinced by the great miracle that was done by thee upon my son. For we had carried him to Wells and the Bath, and all doctors had given him over, for his grandfather and father feared he would have died and their name have gone out, having but that son; but presently, after you were gone," says she, "we came home and found our son playing in the streets. Therefore," said she, "all the country would come to hear," if I would come back again and have a meeting there. And this was about three years after she told me of it, and he was grown to be a straight, full youth then. So the Lord have the praise.

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CHAPTER V

DISPUTES WITH PRIESTS AND PROFESSORS

1653-1654

ABOUT this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before, that we should be all knocked down within a month; and after that, they prolonged the time to half a year; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth that we would eat out one another. For often after meetings, many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lie in; so that some have lain on the hay-mows. Hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people, for they were afraid that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and be chargeable to them. But after a while, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as He did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them, then they saw the falseness of all their prophecies against us; and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed.

At the first convincement, when Friends could not put off their hats to people, or say You to a single person, but Thou and Thee; when they could not bow, or use flattering words in salutations, or adopt the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their custom at the first; for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them; so that for a time some Friends could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of Friends' honesty and truthfulness, and found that their Yea was yea, and their Nay was nay; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them; but that if they sent a child to their shops for anything, they were as well used as if they had come themselves; the lives and conversations of Friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in the people. Then

things altered so, that all the inquiry was, "Where is there a draper, or shopkeeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that is a Quaker?" Insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, "If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands."

While Friends abode in the northern parts, a certain priest of Wrexham, in Wales, one Floyd,¹ having heard reports concerning us, sent two of his preachers into the North to inquire concerning us, to try us, and bring him an account of us. But when these triers came down amongst us, the power of the Lord seized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they stayed some time with us, and then returned to Wales; where afterwards one of them departed from his convincement; but the other, whose name was John ap John, abode in the truth, and received a part in the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

When the Churches were settled in the North, and Friends were sate down under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shined over them, I passed from Swarthmoor (about the beginning of the year 1654) through the countries, visiting Friends till I came to Synderhill-Green,² where a meeting was appointed three weeks before. When I came to Synderhill-Green, there was a mighty meeting, some thousands of people (as it was supposed). Many persons of note were there, as captains and other officers; and there was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth was over all, and there was no opposition.

About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many, whom He had raised up, and sent forth to labour in His vineyard, to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel to the eastern, southern and western parts of the nation; for above sixty ministers had the Lord raised up, and now sent abroad out of the North country, the sense of their service being very weighty upon me.

¹ Morgan Lloyd (c. 1619-1659).

² Cinder Hill, near Woodhouse, South Yorkshire.

About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a Baptist, and was turned Ranter), and his company, fell prophesying against me that I was then at the highest, and that after that time I should fall down as fast. He sent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Clawson and the towns thereabouts, judging Friends for declaring the truth in the markets and in steeple-houses; which papers I answered. But his and his company's prophecies came upon themselves; for soon after they fell to pieces and their meetings scattered, except that some of them met together on the First-day to play at shovell-board. Many of his followers became Friends, and continued so. And through the Lord's blessed power, Truth and Friends have increased and do increase in the increase of God: and I, by the same power, have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting Seed, that never fell nor changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and so disobeyed the command of Christ. Many such false prophets have risen up against me, but the Lord hath blasted them, and will blast all who rise against the blessed Seed and me in that. My confidence is in the Lord; for whosoever did, I saw their end, and how the Lord would confound them, before He sent me forth.

I was now at Synderhill-Green, where I had had a large meeting in the daytime; and at night we had a great meeting again in Thomas Stacey's house; for people came from far, and could not soon depart. The high sheriff of the county told Captain Bradford¹ that he intended to have come up with half a dozen of his troopers to the meeting; but the Lord prevented him. When I had attended some meetings thereabouts, I travelled up and down in Yorkshire, as far as Holderness, and to the land's end that way, visiting Friends and the Churches of Christ; which were finely settled under Christ's teaching. At length I came to Captain Bradford's house, whither many Ranters came from York to wrangle; but they were confounded and stopped. Thither came also the Lady Montague, who was then convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

Then I came again to Thomas Taylor's, within three miles of Halifax, where was a meeting of about two hundred people; amongst which were many rude people, and divers butchers, several of whom had bound themselves with an oath, before they came out, that they would kill me (as I was told); one of

¹ William Bradford, living at or near Cinder Hill.

those butchers had killed a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great disturbance in the meeting. The meeting being in a close, Thomas Taylor stood up, and said unto them, "If you will be civil, you may stay, but if not, I charge you to be gone from off my ground." But they were the worse, and said they would make it like a common; and they yelled, and made such a noise as if they had been at a bear-baiting. They thrust Friends up and down; and Friends being peaceable, the Lord's power came over them. Several times they thrust me off from the place I stood on by the crowding of the people together against me; but still I was moved of the Lord to stand up again as I was thrust down. At last I was moved of the Lord to say unto them, if they would discourse of the things of God, let them come up to me one by one; and if they had anything to say or to object, I would answer them all one after another; but they were all silent, and had nothing to say. And then the Lord's power came so over them all, and answered the witness of God in them, that they were bound by the power of God; and a glorious, powerful meeting we had, and His power went over all, and the minds of the people were turned by the Spirit of God in them to God, and to Christ their Teacher. The powerful word of life was largely declared that day; and in the life and power of God we brake up our meeting; and that rude company went their way to Halifax. The people asked them why they did not kill me, according to the oath they had sworn; and they maliciously answered that I had so bewitched them that they could not do it. Thus was the Devil chained at that time. Friends told me that they used to come at other times and be very rude and unruly; and sometimes break their stools and seats, and make frightful work amongst them; but the Lord's power had now bound them.

Shortly after this, the butcher, that had been accused of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of them that had then bound himself by an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was sent to York jail. Another of those rude butchers, who had also sworn to kill me, that used to thrust his tongue out of his mouth to Friends when they passed by him, had it so swollen out of his mouth that he could never get it in again, but died so. Several strange and sudden judgments came upon many of these conspirators against me, which would be too large here to declare. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the blood-thirsty who sought after blood; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them to Him to deal with

them, who is stronger than them all; in whose power I was preserved, and carried on to do His work. The Lord hath raised a fine people in these parts, whom He hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in His name; who feel Christ amongst them, and sit under His teaching.

After this I came to Balby, from whence several Friends went with me into Lincolnshire; of whom some went to the steeple-houses, and some to the Separate meetings. There came to the meeting where I was the sheriff of Lincoln,¹ and several with him, who made great contention and jangling for a time. But at length the Lord's power struck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did several others also that had opposed, and continued among Friends till they died. Great meetings there were, and a large convincement in those parts. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus, and came to sit under His teaching, leaving their priests, and their superstitious ways; and the day of the Lord flourished over all. Amongst them that came to our meetings in that country was one Sir Richard Wrey, who was convinced; as was also his brother² and his brother's wife, who abode in the truth, and died therein, though he afterwards ran out.

Having visited these countries, I came into Derbyshire; the sheriff of Lincoln, who was lately convinced, being with me. In one meeting we had some opposition, but the Lord's glorious power gave dominion over all. At night there came a company of bailiffs and serving-men, and called me out. I went out to them, having some Friends with me. They were exceedingly rude and violent; for they had, it seems, conspired together, and intended to carry me away with them in the dark of the evening by force, and then to do me a mischief; but the Lord's power went over them, and chained them, so that they could not effect their design; and at last they went away. The next day, Thomas Aldam, understanding that the serving-men belonged to one called a knight, who lived not far off, went to his house, and laid before him the bad conduct of his servants. The knight rebuked them, and did not allow of their evil carriage towards us.

I passed towards Kidsley Park, where came many Ranters; but the Lord's power checked them. From thence I went into

¹ Robert Craven (*d.* 1670).

² Probably Sir John Wray, Bart., of Glentworth.

the Peak Country towards Thomas Hammersley's,¹ where came the Ranters of that country, and many high professors. The Ranters opposed me, and began swearing, and I reprov'd them for it.

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This Thomas Hammersley, being summoned to serve upon a jury, was admitted to serve without an oath; and when he, as foreman of the jury, brought in the verdict, the judge declared that he had been a judge so many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that Quaker had then brought in. Much might be written of things of this nature, which time would fail to declare. But the Lord's blessed power and truth was exalted over all, who is worthy of all praise and glory for ever!

Travelling through Derbyshire, I visited Friends till I came to Swannington, in Leicestershire, where there was a general meeting, to which many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came; for great contests there had been with them, and with the priests in that town. The Ranters made a disturbance, and were very rude, but at last the Lord's power came over them, and they were confounded.

Then I went to Drayton to visit my relations. As soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens the priest, having got another priest, and given notice to the country, sent down to me to come up to them, as they could not do anything till I came. Having been three years away from my relations, I knew nothing of their design. But at last I went up into the steeple-house yard, where the two priests were; and they had gathered abundance of people. When I came there, they would have me go into the steeple-house. I asked them what I should do there; and they said, "Mr. Stephens cannot bear the cold." I told them he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall, Richard Farnsworth being with me; and a great dispute we had with these priests, concerning their practices, how contrary they were to Christ and His apostles. The priests would know where tithes were forbidden or ended, whereupon I shewed them out of the seventh chapter to the Hebrews that not only tithes but the priesthood that took tithes was ended; and the law was ended and disannulled, by which the priesthood was made and tithes were commanded to be paid. Then the priests

¹ Basford, near Leek, in Staffordshire.

stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. Now I had known Priest Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition, and the manner of his preaching; and how that he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die. But I shewed that the promises were to the Seed, not to the many seeds, but to one Seed, Christ, who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then he said I must not judge so: but I told him he that was spiritual judged all things. Then he confessed that that was a full Scripture; "But, neighbours," said he, "this is the business: George Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light." But I said, "Nathaniel, give me thy hand"; then I told him I would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light—light from the Morning Star. But I told him if he had anything from Christ or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching, seeing Christ commanded His ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So I charged him to preach no more for tithes, or any hire. But he plucked his hand out of mine and said he would not yield to that. After a while the people began to be vain and rude; so we brake up; yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Before we parted, I told them that, if the Lord would, I intended to be at the town that day seven-night again.

In the interim I went into the country, and had meetings, and came thither again that day seven-night. Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him: for Priest Stephens had given notice at a lecture on a market-day at Atherstone, that such a day there would be a meeting and a dispute with me. I knew nothing of it; but had only said I should be in town that day seven-night again. Now these eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and they would have had me into the steeple-house; but I would not go in, but got on a hill and there spake to them and the people. There were with me Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, James Parnell, and several other Friends. The priests thought that day to have trampled down Truth; but the truth came over them. Then they grew light, and the people rude; and the priests would not stand trial with me; but would be contending here and there a little with one Friend or other. At last one of the priests brought his son to dispute with me; but his mouth was soon stopped. When he could not

tell how to answer, he would go and ask his father; and his father was confounded also, when he came to answer for his son. So, after they had toiled themselves, they went away in a rage to Priest Stephens' house to drink. As they went away, I said, "I never came to a place where so many priests together would not stand the trial with me." Whereupon they and some of their wives came about me, laid hold of me, and fawningly said what might I have been, if it had not been for the Quakers! Then they began a-pushing Friends to and fro to thrust them from me, and to pluck me to themselves. After a while several lusty fellows came, took me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to carry me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on a heap, having me under them. As soon as I could, I got up from under them, and got to the hill again. Then they took me from that place to the steeple-house wall, and set me on a bass like a stool; and all the priests being come back, stood under with the people. The priests cried, "Come, to argument, to argument": I said I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of hirelings and strangers. And they cried, "Prove it, prove it." Then I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might see what Christ said of such; He declared He was the true shepherd that laid down His life for His sheep, and His sheep heard His voice, and followed Him; but the hireling would fly when the wolf came, because he was a hireling. And I offered to prove that they were such hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off from the bass again; and they themselves got all upon basses under the steeple-house wall.

Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all, though the people began to be a little rude, and told them if they would but give audience, and hear me quietly, I would shew them by the Scriptures why I denied those eight priests or teachers that stood before me, and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever; and I would give them Scriptures for what I said. Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I shewed them out of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, Malachi, and others, that they were in the steps of such as God sent His true prophets to cry against; for, said I, "You are such as the prophet Jeremiah cried against, chap. v., when he said, 'The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means'; which he called an astonishing and horrible thing."

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Though they thought to have confounded Truth that day, many were convinced of it; and many that were convinced before were by that day's work confirmed in the truth, and abode in it; and a great shake it gave to the priests. My father in the flesh, though he was a hearer and follower of the priests, thwacked his cane on the ground, and said, "Well, I see he that will but stand to the truth, it will carry him out."

I passed about in the country till that day seven-night, and then came again; for we had appointed a meeting at my relations' house. Now Priest Stephens having had notice beforehand thereof, had got another priest to him; and they had a company of troopers with them, and sent for me to come to them. But I sent them word our meeting was appointed, and they might come to it if they would. The priests came not; but the troopers came, and many rude people. They had laid their plot, that the troopers should take every one's name and then command them to go home; and such as would not go they should take and carry them away with them. Accordingly they began, and took several names, charging them to go home; but when they came to take my name, my relations told them I was at home already: so they could not take me away that time. Nevertheless they took my name; but the Lord's power was over them, and they went away, both professors and troopers, crossed and vexed because they obtained not their end. But several were convinced that day, and admired the love and power of God. This was that Priest Stephens who once said of me, "Never such a plant was bred in England": yet afterwards he reported that I was carried up in the clouds, and found again full of gold and silver; and a many lies and false reports he raised on me: but the Lord swept them all away. The reason why I would not go into their steeple-house was because I was to bear my testimony against it, and to bring all off from such places to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghost; and to bring them off from all the hireling teachers, to Christ their free Teacher, who died for them, and purchased them with His blood.

CHAPTER VI

ARREST IN LEICESTERSHIRE AND RELEASE IN LONDON

1654-1655

AFTER this I went into the country, and had several meetings, and came to Swannington, where the soldiers came again; but the meeting was quiet, the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not meddle. Then I went to Leicester, and then to Whetstone. There came about seventeen troopers of Colonel Hacker's¹ regiment, with his marshal, and took me up before the meeting, though Friends were beginning to gather together; for there were several Friends come from various parts. I told the marshal he might let all the Friends go, I would answer for them all; so he took me, and let them go, except Alexander Parker who went with me. At night they had me before Colonel Hacker, his major, and captains, a great company of them; and much discourse we had about the priests and meetings, for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Oliver Cromwell. Much reasoning I had with them about the light of Christ, which enlightneth every man that cometh into the world. Colonel Hacker asked whether it was not this light of Christ that made Judas betray his Master, and afterwards led him to hang himself? I told him, "No; that was the spirit of darkness, which hated Christ and His light." Then Colonel Hacker said I might go home, and keep there, and not go abroad to meetings. I told him I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work. His son Needham² said, "Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off." I asked him, "For what? what have I done? or whom have I wronged from a child?" for I was bred and born in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child? Then Colonel Hacker asked me again if I would go home and stay there. I told him if I should promise him that, it would manifest that I was guilty of something, to go home, and make my home a prison; and if I went to meetings, they would say

¹ Colonel Frances Hacker, of Withcote Hall, Oakham (*d.* 1660).

² Probably Captain Clement Needham, of Colonel Francis Hacker's regiment of horse.

I broke their order. I told them I should go to meetings as the Lord should order me, and therefore could not submit to their requirings; but I said, "We are a peaceable people." "Well then," said Colonel Hacker, "I will send you to my Lord Protector by Captain Drury, one of his life-guards."

That night I was kept a prisoner at the Marshalsea; and the next morning by six o'clock I was ready and delivered to Captain Drury. I desired he would let me speak with Colonel Hacker before I went, and he had me to his bedside. Colonel Hacker set upon me presently again, to go home and keep no more meetings. I told him I could not submit to that, but must have my liberty to serve God and go to meetings. "Then," said he, "you must go before the Protector." Whereupon I kneeled by his bedside, and besought the Lord to forgive him, for he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; and when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, I bid him then remember what I had said to him. But he was stirred up, and set on by Priest Stephens and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest; who, when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, nor resist the Spirit of the Lord that was in me, then they got soldiers to take me up.

Afterwards, when this Colonel Hacker was in the Tower of London, a day or two before he was executed, he was put in mind of what he had done against the innocent; and he remembered it, and confessed to it to Margaret Fell, saying he knew well whom she meant; and he had a trouble upon him for it. So his son, who told his father I had reigned too long, and that it was time to have me cut off, might observe how his father was cut off afterwards, he being hanged at Tyburn when the King came in.

Now was I carried up a prisoner by Captain Drury from Leicester; and when we came to Harborough, he asked me if I would go home and stay a fortnight. I should have my liberty, he said, if I would not go to nor keep meetings. I told him I could not promise any such thing. Several times upon the road did he ask, and try me after the same manner, and still I gave him the same answers. So he brought me to London, and lodged me at the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing-Cross. As we travelled, I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places where I came of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

After Captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he left me there, and went to give the Protector an account of me.

When he came to me again, he told me the Protector required that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the Government. And I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it. I said little in reply to Captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper "To the Protector by the Name of Oliver Cromwell," wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon, against him or any man: and that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to light; and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting to the peaceable gospel, and from being evil-doers which the magistrates' swords should be a terror to. When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to Captain Drury to hand to Oliver Cromwell, which he did.

Then after some time Captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall. It was in a morning, before he was dressed, and one Harvey,¹ who had come a little among Friends, but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to say, "Peace be in this house"; and I bid him to keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom from Him, that by it he might be directed, and order all things under his hand to God's glory. I spake much to him of Truth, and much discourse I had with him about religion; wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said we quarrelled with priests, whom he called ministers. I told him I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends. "But," said I, "if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and Spirit." Then I shewed him that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and against them that did not declare freely, such as preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs that can never have enough; and that they that have the same Spirit that Christ and the prophets and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. As I spake, he several times said it was very good and it was truth. I told him that all Christendom (so called) possessed the Scriptures, but wanted the power and Spirit that they had who gave forth the Scriptures,

¹ Charles Harvey, groom of the bed-chamber to the Protector.

and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, or with the Father, or with the Scriptures, or one with another.

Many more words I had with him, but people coming in, I drew a little back; and as I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other"; adding that he wished me no more ill than he did his own soul. I told him if he did he wronged his own soul; and I bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in His counsel and obey it; and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. He said it was true. Then I went out; and when Captain Drury came out after me, he told me his Lord Protector said I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. "And my Lord says," he says, "you are not a fool, and said he never saw such a paper in his life" as I had sent him. Then I was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them what they brought me thither for. They said it was by the Protector's order that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know I would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a sup of his drink. When he heard this he said, "Now I see there is a people risen and come up that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can." It was told him again that we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him.

Being set at liberty I went to the inn again where Captain Drury had at first lodged me. This Captain Drury, though he sometimes carried fairly, was an enemy to me and to Truth, and opposed it; and when professors came to me (while I was under his custody) and he was by, he would scoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the Independents and Presbyterians had nicknamed us before. But afterwards he once came to me, and told me that, as he was lying on his bed to rest, in the day-time, he fell a-trembling, that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so that he could not get off the bed; he was so shaken that he had not strength left, and cried to the Lord. And he felt His power was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said he never would speak against the Quakers more, and such as trembled at the word of God.

During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross there came abundance to see me, people of almost all sorts, priests, professors, officers of the army, &c. And one time a company of officers

being with me desired me to pray with them. I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord. At last I felt the power and spirit of God move in me, and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them that they wondred, though they did not live in it.

Among those that came to see me was one Colonel Packer,¹ with several of his officers; and while they were with me, came in one Cobb, and a great company of Ranters with him. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them if they had such a desire for it they might go into another room. One of them cried, "All is ours"; and another said, "All is well." I replied, "How is all well, while thou art so peevish, and envious, and crabbed?" for I saw he was of a peevish nature. I spake to their conditions, and they were sensible of it, and looked upon one another, wondring.

Then Colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind concerning God, and Christ, and the Scriptures; it was a great grief to my soul and spirit when I heard him talk so lightly; so that I told him he was too light to talk of the things of God, for he did not know the solidity of a man. Thereupon the officers raged, and said would I say so of their colonel. This Packer was a Baptist, and he and the Ranters bowed and scraped to one another very much; for it was the manner of the Ranters to be so extreme in their compliments, that Packer bid them give over their compliments; but I told them they were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit.

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After a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself; so I preached Truth both to the officers and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But a priest opposed while I was declaring the word of the Lord amongst them; for Oliver had several priests about him, of which this was his news-monger; an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man.² I bid him repent; and he put it in his news-book the next week, that I had been at Whitehall, and had bid a godly minister there repent. When I went thither again I met with him; and abundance of people gathered about me. I manifested the priest to be a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and so he was silenced. He put in the news-book that I wore silver buttons,

¹ Major William Packer lived at Theobalds, near Waltham Abbey.

² This was, probably, Henry Walker.

which was false, for they were but alchymy. Afterwards he said in the news-book that I hung ribands on people's arms, which made them follow me; this was another of his lies, for I never wore or used ribands in my life. Three Friends went to examine this priest that gave forth this false intelligence, and to know of him where he had that information. He said it was a woman that told him so; and if they would come again, he would tell them her name. When they returned he said it was a man, but would not mention his name then; but if they would come again, he would tell them his name, and where he lived. They went the third time, and then he would not say who told him; but offered, if I would give it under my hand that there was no such thing, he would put that into the news-book. Thereupon the Friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came, he brake his promise, and would not insert it; but was in a rage, and threatned them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies; which he spread over all the nation in the news-books, to render Truth odious, and to put evil into people's minds against Friends and Truth. These priests, the news-mongers, were of the Independent sect, but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away; and many came to see the naughtiness of these priests. The Lord's power went over the nation; insomuch that many Friends about this time were moved to go up and down, to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of it, and also in Scotland: and the glory of the Lord was set over all to His everlasting praise. A great convincement there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family; I went to see him again, but could not get access to him, the officers were grown so rude. And sometimes they would turn up my coat and see for my leather breeches, and then they would be in a rage.

The Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists were greatly disturbed; for many of their people turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and sate down under His teachings: they received His power, and felt it in their hearts: and then they were moved of the Lord to declare against the rest of them.

There was about this time an order for the trying of ministers (so called), and for approving, or ejecting them out of their places or benefices;¹ whereupon I wrote a paper to the justices and other commissioners who were appointed to that work.

¹ The Triers of ministers began work in March 1654.

CHAPTER VII

SHORT JOURNEYS FROM LONDON

1655

AFTER I had made some stay in the city of London, and cleared myself of what service lay upon me at that time there, I was moved of the Lord to go down into Bedfordshire to John Crook's,¹ where there was a great meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, John Crook told me that next day several of those that were called the gentlemen of the country would come to dine with him, he being a justice of the peace, and to discourse with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. Several Friends went to the steeple-houses that day. And there was a meeting in the country, which Alexander Parker went to; and towards the middle of the day it came upon me to go to it, though it was several miles off. John Crook went with me. When we arrived, there was one Gritton, who had been a Baptist, but was gotten higher than they and called himself a trier of spirits. He told people their fortunes, and pretended to discover to them, when their goods were stolen or houses broken up, who the persons were that did it; by which he had got into the affections of many people thereabouts. This man was in that meeting, speaking and making a hideous noise over the young-convinced Friends when I came in; and he bid Alexander Parker give a reason of his hope. Alexander Parker told him Christ was his hope; but because he did not answer him so soon as he expected, he boastingly cried, "His mouth is stopped." Then Gritton directed his speech to me, for I stood still and heard him express many things, which were not agreeable to Scripture. I asked him whether he could make those things out by Scripture which he had spoken, and he said, "Yes, yes." Then I bid the people take out their Bibles to search the places he should quote for proof of his assertions; but he could not make good by Scripture that which he had said. So he was ashamed and fled out of the house, and his people were generally convinced: for

¹ John Crook lived at Beckerings Park, near Ridgmount.

his spirit was discovered, and he came no more amongst them. When his people were convinced and settled in God's truth, they gave forth a book against him, and denied his spirit and his false discoveries. Many were turned to Christ Jesus that day, and came to sit under His teaching; insomuch that the judges were in a great rage, and many of the magistrates in Bedfordshire, because there were so many turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching. But John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was discharged from being a justice.

After some time I returned to London again, where Friends were finely established in the truth, and great comings-in there were. When I had stayed a while in the city, I passed into Kent.

From thence I passed into Sussex and came to a lodge¹ near Horsham, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced.

Out of Sussex I passed through the countries till I came to Reading, where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. There I stayed till the First-day, and had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard; and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it was; a great convincement there was, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of Judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop, of Bristol, with his sword by his side, for he was a captain. After the meeting many Baptists and Ranters came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them.

After this meeting at Reading I passed up to London, where I stayed a while, and had large meetings, then went into Essex, and came to Coggeshall, where was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was judged, which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was; for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher and their Saviour, the way, the truth, and the life. And after meeting was done, I walked out into the fields as I used to do. And when I was gone there came two or three justices of the peace, and they came riding up fiercely to me. I turned and looked at them and they then turned and spake never a word

¹ This was Sidgwick Lodge, the home of Bryan Wilkinson.

to me. One of them said to the other, "What! will you go away, sir?" said he. "Yes," said the other. So they went to the house, and Friends had some books of our principles; and they bought some of the books and went their ways. But they had mischief in their hearts.

On the Sixth day of that week I had a meeting near Colchester, to which many professors and the Independent teachers came. After I had done speaking, and was stepped down from the place on which I stood, one of the Independent teachers began to make a jangling; which Captain Stoddart perceiving, said to me, "Stand up again, George," for I was going away, and did not at first hear them. But when I heard the jangling Independent, I stood up again; and after a while the Lord's power came over him and his company; and they were confounded, and the Lord's truth went over all. A great flock of sheep hath the Lord Jesus Christ in that country, that feed in His pastures of life. On the First-day following we had a very large meeting near Colchester, wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and the people were very well satisfied; for they were turned to Christ's free teaching, and received it gladly. Many of these people had been of the stock of the martyrs.

I passed to Cambridge, and when I came into the town, the scholars, hearing of me, were up, and were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rid through them in the Lord's power; "Oh!" said they, "he shines, he glisters"; but they unhorsed Captain Amor Stoddart before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were so rude in the courts and in the streets, that miners, colliers, and carters could never be ruder. The people of the house asked us what we would have for supper, as is the usual way of inns. "Supper!" said I, "were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us." They knew I was so against the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as much as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul. When it was within night, the mayor¹ of the town, being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets, there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. They were in a rage not only against me but against the mayor also, so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets

¹ The mayor in 1655 was Samuel Spalding.

with me, for the tumult. We sent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting in his house in the power of God; and I stayed there all night. Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by the sixth hour, we passed peaceably out of town; and the destroyers were frustrated, for they thought I would have stayed longer, and intended to do us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning frustrated their evil purposes against us.

Then we rode to Hertford, where there were some convinced, and where there is now a fine meeting. From thence we returned to London, where Friends received us gladly; the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. Great service we had for the Lord; for many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour, and to praise the Lord through Him.

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This year came out the oath of Abjuration, by which many Friends suffered; and several went to speak to the Protector about it; but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon Friends, by reason that envious magistrates made use of that oath as a snare to catch Friends in, who, they knew, could not swear at all, I was moved to write to the Protector.

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After clearing myself of those services for the Lord which lay upon me in London, I passed into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Wellingborough I had a great meeting, in which the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all; and many in that country were turned to the Lord. Great rage was amongst the professors, for the wicked priests, Presbyterians and Independents, falsely reported that we carried bottles about with us, which we gave people to drink of; which made them follow us: but the power, and spirit, and truth of God kept Friends over the rage of the people. Great spoiling also there was of Friends' goods for tithes by the Independent and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests, that had got into the steeple-houses.

From Wellingborough I went into Leicestershire, where Colonel Hacker had threatned that if I came there he would imprison me again, though the Protector had set me at liberty; but when I was come to Whetstone (the meeting from which he took me before) all was quiet there. Colonel Hacker's wife

and his marshal came to the meeting, and were convinced: for the glorious powerful day of the Lord was exalted over all, and many were convinced that day. There were at that meeting two justices of the peace, that came out of Wales, whose names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin, who came both to be ministers of Christ.

From thence I went to Drayton, my native town, where so many priests and professors had formerly gathered together against me; but now not a priest or professor appeared. I asked some of my relations, "Where are all the priests and professors now?" They said, "The priest of Nun-Eaton¹ is dead, and eight or nine of them are seeking to get his benefice. They will let you alone now," said they, "for they are like a company of crows, when a sheep is dead, they all gather together to pluck out the puddings; so do the priests for a fallen benefice." These were some of their own hearers that said so of them; they had spent their venom against me, and the Lord delivered me by His power out of their snares.

From thence I passed into Nottinghamshire, and had large meetings there; and into Derbyshire, where the Lord's power came over all; and many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and came to receive the Holy Ghost. Great miracles were wrought in many places by the power of the Lord through several. While we were here, Friends came out of Yorkshire to see us, and were glad of the prosperity of Truth.

After this I passed into Warwickshire, through Friends, visiting their meetings; and so into Worcestershire.

From Worcester we went to Tewkesbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting; to which came the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people. He boasted that he would see whether he or I should have the victory. I turned the people to the divine light which Christ, the heavenly and spiritual Man, enlightneth them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and that with the same light

¹ Perhaps "priest Wise," mentioned by name in the Short Journal of George Fox.

they might also see Christ from whom it comes, their Saviour and Redeemer, who shed His blood and died for them, and who is the way to God, the truth, and the life. Here the priest began to rage against the light, and denied it; for neither priest nor professor could endure to hear the light spoken of. So the priest having railed at the light went away, and left his rude company amongst us; but the Lord's power came over them, though mischief was in their hearts.

Leaving Tewkesbury, we came to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow's house, with many sober people. A precious meeting we had in the Lord's power, and several were convinced and turned to the Lord. After it, as I was walking out, a Baptist in the company began to jangle; and the bailiff of the town with his officers came in, and said, "What do these people here at this time of night?" So he secured John Crook, Amor Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, and myself, but we had leave to go to our inn, and to be forthcoming in the morning. Next morning many rude people came to the inn, and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went up to the bailiff to speak with him, and to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. As we rode out of town, it lay upon me to ride to his house to let him know that O. P. having given forth an instrument of government, in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very strange that, contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peaceable people that feared God. The Friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us and got stones; and one of them took hold of my horse's bridle and brake it; but the horse drew back and threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet he did not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude, so that it was much we were not slain or hurt in the streets; for the people threw stones, and struck at us, as we rode along the town.

When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked, "Is there nothing in this town, no profession?" and it was answered me there were some Baptists and a Baptist woman sick. John Rush, of Bedfordshire, went with me to visit her. When we came in, there were many tender people about her. They told me she was not a woman for this world, but if I had anything

to comfort her concerning the world to come, I might speak to her. So I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her; and the Lord raised her up that she was well, to the astonishment of the town and country. This Baptist woman and her husband, whose name was Baldock,¹ came to be convinced, and many hundreds of people have met at their house since. Great meetings and convincements were in those parts afterwards; many received the word of life, and sate down under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman, we returned to our inn, where were two desperate fellows fighting so that none durst come nigh to part them. But I was moved, in the Lord's power, to go to them; and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand, and the other by the other, shewed them the evil of their doings and convinced them, and reconciled them one to the other, and they were so loving and thankful to me that people admired at it.

From thence I passed to Market-Street, where God had ■ people, and through Albans to London, where Friends were glad of the prosperity of Truth, and the manifestation of the Lord's glorious power which had delivered us, and carried us through many dangers and difficulties. I also rejoiced to find Truth prosper in the City, and all things well amongst friends there.

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¹ Probably Thomas Baldock.

CHAPTER VIII

LAUNCESTON AND DOOMSDALE

1655-1656

Now after I had tarried some time in London, and had visited Friends in their meetings, I went out of town, through the countries, into Devon and Cornwall, and passed to Totness, a dark town. We lodged at an inn, and at night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that next day we got to Kingsbridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to Nicholas Tripe and his wife, and we went down to their house. They sent for the priest, with whom we had some discourse; but he being confounded, quickly left us. But Tripe and his wife were convinced; and there is since a good meeting of Friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn; and there being many people drinking in the house, I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and to direct them to the light, which Christ, the heavenly Man, had enlightned them withal; by which they might see all their evil ways, words, and deeds, and by the same light they might also see Jesus Christ their Saviour. The innkeeper, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking, snatched up the candle, and said, "Come, here is a light for you to go into your chamber." Next morning, I told him what an uncivil thing it was for him to do so; then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

We came next day to Plymouth, and after having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Robert Cary's house, where we had a very precious meeting. At this meeting was one Elizabeth Trelawney, daughter to a baronet; she being somewhat dull of hearing came close up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me while I spake; and she was convinced. After the meeting some jangling Baptists came in, but the Lord's power came over them, and this Elizabeth Trelawney came and said, "George is over all," with a loud voice. A fine meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, which has continued ever since, where many faithful Friends have been convinced.

From thence we passed into Cornwall, and travelled through Penryn to Helston; but could not obtain knowledge of any sober people, through the badness of the innkeepers. At length we came to a village where some Baptists and sober people lived, with whom we had some discourse; and some of them were brought to confess that they stumbled at the light of Christ. They would have had us to stay with them, but we passed thence to Market-Jew;¹ and having taken up our lodging at an inn, we sent out over-night to inquire for such as feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together, with the high-sheriff of the county; and they sent first the constables to bid us come before them. We asked them for their warrant, and they saying they had none, we told them we should not go along with them without. Upon the return of the constables without us, they sent their serjeants, and we asked them for their warrant. They said they had none; but they told us the mayor and aldermen stayed for us. We told them the mayor and his company did not well to trouble us in our inn, and we should not go with them without a warrant. So they went away and came again; and when we asked them for their warrant, one of them plucked his mace from under his cloak; we asked them whether this was their custom to molest and trouble strangers in their inns and lodgings. After some time I said to Edward Pyot, "Go thy ways, Edward, and see what ails the mayor and his company," and Edward Pyot went to the mayor and aldermen, and had much discourse with them; but the Lord's power gave him dominion over them all. When he had returned, several of the officers came to us, and we laid before them the incivility and unworthiness of their carriage towards us, who were the servants of the Lord God, thus to stop and trouble us in our lodgings; and what an unchristian act it was. Before we left the town I wrote a paper, to be sent to the seven parishes at the Land's End, to declare that the Lord was come to teach His people Himself by His Son Christ Jesus.

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This paper William Salt, who was then with me, had; and when we were gone three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the west, he meeting with a man upon the road, gave him a copy of the paper. And as soon as he had given it I felt we were as taken prisoners, but he should have given it me before he gave it abroad. But I saw it would be well. This man² proved to be

¹ Now Marazion.

² He was Captain John Keate, mentioned later.

clerk to one Peter Ceely, major in the army, and a justice of peace in that county; and he riding before us to a place called St. Ives, shewed the paper to his master, Major Ceely. When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse having cast a shoe, we stayed to have it set; and while he was getting his horse shod I walked down to the sea-side. When I returned I found the town in an uproar; and they were haling Edward Pyot and William Salt before Major Ceely. I followed them into the justice's house, though they did not lay hands upon me. When we came in, the house was full of rude people; whereupon I asked whether there were not an officer among them to keep the people civil. Major Ceely said he was a magistrate. I told him he should shew forth gravity and sobriety then, and use his authority to keep the people civil; for I never saw any people ruder; the Indians were more like Christians than they. After a while they brought forth the paper aforesaid, and asked whether I would own it. I said, "Yes." Then he tendred the oath of Abjuration to us; whereupon I put my hand in my pocket and drew forth the answer to it, which had been given to the Protector. After I had given him that, he examined us severally one by one. He had with him a silly, young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions; and amongst the rest he asked to cut my hair, which then was pretty long; but I was not to cut it though many times many were offended at it. I told them I had no pride in it, and I did not put it on. At length the justice put us under a guard of soldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself; nevertheless we warned the people of the day of the Lord, and declared the truth to them. The next day he sent us, guarded by a party of horse with swords and pistols, to Redruth.

On the First-day the soldiers would have taken us away; but we told them it was their Sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day. Several of the town's-people gathered about us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spake to the people; and afterwards he held the soldiers in discourse whilst I spake to the people; and in the mean time William Salt got out the back way, and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people. The people were exceeding desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and abused him. The soldiers also, missing him, were in a great rage, ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord and the word of eternal life to the people that gathered about us. In the afternoon the soldiers would needs have us away, so we took horse. When we had

ridden to the town's-end, I was moved of the Lord to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house. The soldiers drew out their pistols, and swore I should not go back. I heeded them not but rid back, and they rid after me. I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned with them, and reproved them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to an inn in Smethick.¹ It being the evening of the First-day, there came to our inn the chief constable of the place, and many sober people, some of whom began to inquire concerning us. We told them we were prisoners under guard for Truth's sake; and much discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober and loving to us. Some were convinced and stand to this day.

After the constables and these people were gone, other people came in, who were also very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone we went to our chamber to go to bed, and about eleven o'clock Edward Pyot said, "I will shut the door, it may be some may come to do us some mischief." Afterwards we understood that Captain Keate, who commanded the guard, had purposed to do us some mischief that night; but the door being bolted he missed his design. Next morning Captain Keate brought a brother or kinsman of his, a rude, wicked man, and put him into the room, he himself standing without. This evil-minded man walking huffing up and down the room, I bid him fear the Lord; whereupon he ran upon me, struck me with both his hands, and clapping his leg behind me, would have fain thrown me down, but he could not, for I stood stiff and still and let him strike. As I looked without the door, I saw Captain Keate look on and see his brother or kinsman thus beat and abuse me. Whereupon I said, "Keate, dost thou allow this?" and he said he did. "Is this manly or civil," said I, "to have us under a guard and put a man to abuse and beat us? is this manly, civil, or Christian?" I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came. Then I desired the captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us; which he did; and his warrant was to conduct us safe to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle;² and if the governor should not be at home, he was to convey us to Launceston jail. I told him he had broken his order concerning us; for we, who were his prisoners, were to be safely conducted, but

¹ Now Falmouth.

² Captain John Fox, lieutenant-governor 1646 to 1658 and then governor.

he had brought a man to beat and abuse us; so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers they might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners; and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I shewed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us; and they walked up and down the house in their dumps, being pitifully blanked and down. The constables went to the castle and told the officers what they had done. The officers shewed great dislike of Captain Keate's base carriage towards us; and told the constables that Major-General Desborough¹ was coming to Bodmin, and that we should meet him, and that it was likely he would free us. Meanwhile our old guard of soldiers came by way of entreaty to us, and promised that they would be civil to us if we would go with them. Thus the morning spent till it was towards the eleventh hour of the day; and then upon the soldiers' entreaty, and promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again, and we went with them. Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us, who kindly entertained us; and the Lord rewarded them with His truth, that many of them have since been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ, their Teacher and Saviour, to this day.

Captain Keate, who commanded our guard, understanding that Captain Fox, who was the governor of Pendennis Castle, was not at home but gone to meet Major-General Desborough, did not have us thither; but went with us directly to Bodmin, and as we went we met Major-General Desborough on the way. The captain of his troop that rode before him knew me, and said, "Oh, Mr. Fox, what do you here?" I replied, "I am a prisoner." "Alack," said he, "for what?" I told him I was taken up as I was travelling. "Then," said he, "I will speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty." So he came from the head of his troop, rode up to the coach, and spake to the major-general. We also told him how we were taken. He began to speak against the light of Christ, for which I reproved him; then he told the soldiers they might carry us to Launceston; for he could not stay to talk with us lest his horses should take cold.

So to Bodmin we were had that night; and when we were come to our inn, Captain Keate, who was in before us, put me

¹ John Desborough, Major-General for the Western Counties.

into a room, and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand. Whereupon I turned out again, called for Captain Keate, and said unto him, "What now, Keate, what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier? what is thy end in this?" "Oh," said he, "pray hold your tongue; for if you speak to this man, we cannot all rule him, he is so devilish." "Then," said I, "dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier, that thou sayest you cannot all rule him? what an unworthy, base trick is this! and to put me singly into this room from the rest of my friends, that were my fellow-prisoners with me!" Thus his plot was discovered, and the mischief they intended was prevented. Afterwards we got another room, where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the truth to the people; but they were a hardened, dark people. The soldiers also, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sate up drinking and roaring all night.

Next day we were brought to Launceston, where Captain Keate delivered us to the jailer. Now was there no Friends or friendly people near us; and the people of the town were dark and hardened. The jailer required us to pay seven shillings a-week for our horse-meat, and seven for our diet a-piece. But after some time several sober people came to see us, and some of the town were convinced; and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced. Then arose a great rage among the professors and priests against us; and they said, "This people Thou and Thee all men without respect, and they will not doff their hats, nor bow the knee to any man": this made them fret. "But," said they, "we shall see, when the Assize comes, whether they will dare to Thou and Thee the judge, and keep on their hats before him." They expected we should be hanged at the Assize. But all this was little to us; for we saw how God would stain the world's honour and glory, for we were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but we knew the honour that came from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the Assizes, to which abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. There was one Captain Bradden that lay with his troop of horse there, whose soldiers and the sheriff's men guarded us up to the Court through the multitude of people that filled the streets; and much ado they had to get

us through them. Besides, the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon us. When we were brought into the Court, we stood a pretty while with our hats on, and all was quiet; and I was moved to say, "Peace be amongst you!" Judge Glynne,¹ a Welchman, then Chief Justice of England, said to the jailer, "What be these you have brought here into the Court?" "Prisoners, my lord," said he. "Why do you not put off your hats?" said the judge to us: we said nothing. "Put off your hats," said the judge again. Still we said nothing. Then said the judge, "The Court commands you to put off your hats." Then I spake, and said, "Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their Courts, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathen? and if the law of England doth command any such thing, shew me that law either written or printed." Then the judge grew very angry, and said, "I do not carry my law-books on my back." "But," said I, "tell me where it is printed in any statute-book, that I may read it." Then said the judge, "Take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk² him." So they took us away, and put us among the thieves. Presently after he calls to the jailer, "Bring them up again." "Come," said he, "where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? come, answer me. I have you fast now," said he. I replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on." This plain instance stopped him; so that not having any thing else to say to the point, he cried again, "Take them away, jailer." Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves, where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us (we were almost spent to get through the crowd of people), and so guarded us to the prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the jail. We had some very good books to set forth our principles, and to inform people of the truth, which the judge and justices hearing of, they sent Captain Bradden for them, who came into the jail to us, and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away; so we never got them again.

¹ Sir John Glynne (1603-1666), Chief Justice of the Upper Bench, 1655-1659.

² Ferk = beat, correct, punish.

In the afternoon we were had up again into the Court by the jailer and sheriff's men and troopers, who had a mighty broil to get us through the crowd of people. When we were in the Court, waiting to be called, I seeing both the jury and such a multitude of others swearing, it grieved my life that such as professed Christianity should so openly disobey and break the command of Christ and the Apostle. And I was moved of the Lord to give forth a paper against swearing, which I had about me, to the grand and petty juries.

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This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so that when we were called before the judge, he bade the clerk give me that paper; and then asked me whether that seditious paper was mine. I told him if they would read it up in open Court, that I might hear it, if it was mine I would own it, and stand by it. He would have had me to take it, and look upon it in my own hand; but I again desired that it might be read, that all the country might hear it and judge whether there was any sedition in it or not: for if there were I was willing to suffer for it. At last the clerk of the Assize read it with an audible voice that all the people might hear it, and when he had done, I told them it was my paper; I would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the Scripture: for was not this Scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ and the Apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey? Then they let fall that subject; and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the jailer take them off, which he did, and gave them to us; and we put them on again. Then we asked the judge and the justices what we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us but about our hats; and as for putting off our hats, I told them that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much to do about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is the mark of unbelievers. For "How can ye believe," said Christ, "who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" and Christ saith, "I receive not honour from men"; and all true Christians should be of His mind.

Then the judge began to make a great speech, how he represented the Lord Protector's person, who had made him Lord Chief Justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, &c.

We desired him, then, that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment, which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully. But instead of that, they brought in an indictment that they had framed against us; so strange a thing, and so full of lies, that I thought it had been against some of the thieves; that we came "by force and arms, and in a hostile manner into the Court," who were brought as aforesaid. I told them it was false: and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by Major Ceely. Then Peter Ceely spake to the judge, and said, "May it please you, my lord, this man [pointing to me] went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in King Charles, and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. If it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it." So he called upon his witness; but the judge not being forward to examine the witness, I desired that he would be pleased to let my mittimus be read in the face of the Court and country, in which my crime was signified, for which I was sent to prison. The judge said it should not be read; I said it ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life. The judge said again, "It shall not be read"; but I said, "It ought to be read; for if I have done anything worthy of death or of bonds, let all the country know it." Then seeing they would not read it, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners, "Thou hast a copy of it, read it up," said I. "It shall not be read," said the judge; "Jailer," said he, "take him away, I will see whether he or I shall be master." So I was taken away; and a while after called for again. I still cried to have my mittimus read; for that signified the cause of my commitment: wherefore I bid William Salt to read it. He did read it, and the judge, justices, and whole Court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it. It was as follows:

Peter Ceely, one of the Justices of the Peace of this County, To the Keeper of His Highness's gaol at Lancaster, or his Lawful Deputy in that behalf, Greeting :—

I send you herewithal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot of Bristol, and George Fox of Drayton and Clea in Leicestershire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers tending to the disturbance of the publick peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into these parts, being persons

altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided; and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, &c. These are therefore, in the name of His Highness the Lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in His Highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the eighteenth day of January, 1655.

P. CEELY.

When it was read I spake thus to the judge and justices, "Thou that sayest thou art Chief Justice of England, and you that be justices, know that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased; and have carried on the design (if I had had one) which Major Ceely hath charged me with: and if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, judge ye whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case." Then, turning my speech to Major Ceely, I said, "When or where did I take thee aside? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them at our examination: so that I asked for a constable or some other officer to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the Bench? That is not a place for thee to sit in, for accusers do not use to sit with the judge; thou oughtest to come down and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices whether or no Major Ceely is not guilty of this treason which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done. Does he understand his place either as a soldier or a justice of the peace? For he tells you here that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design: that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, and bring in King Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He saith, moreover, he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not you see plainly that Major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of this devilish design." So that business

was let fall: for the judge saw clearly enough that instead of ensnaring me he had ensnared himself.

Major Ceely then got up again and said, "If it please you, my lord, to hear me; this man struck me, and gave me such a blow as I never had in my life." At this I smiled in my heart, and said, "Major Ceely, art thou a justice of peace and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the Court that I struck thee, and gave thee such a blow as thou never hadst the like in thy life? What! art thou not ashamed? Prithee, Major Ceely," said I, "where did I strike thee? and who is thy witness for that? who was by?" He said it was in the Castle Green, and that Captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. I desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that, and I called again upon Major Ceely to come down from off the Bench, telling him it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. When I called again for his witnesses, he said Captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, "Speak, Captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him, as he saith?" Captain Bradden made no answer, but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up if he knew any such thing, but he only bowed his head again. "Nay," said I, "speak up, and let the Court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all this charge." But Captain Bradden never testified to it, and the judge finding those snares would not hold, cried, "Take him away, jailer": and then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks a-piece for not putting off our hats; and to be kept in prison till we paid it. So he sent us back to the jail.

At night Captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us they believed neither the judge nor any in the Court gave credit to the charges which Major Ceely had brought forward against me in the face of the country. And Captain Bradden said that Major Ceely had an intent to take away my life if he could have got another witness. "But," said I, "Captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeing Major Ceely produced thee for a witness that thou saw me strike him? and when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou saw or knew, thou wouldst not speak." "Why," said he, "when Major Ceely and I came by you, as you

were walking in the Castle Green, he put off his hat to you, and said, 'How do you do, Mr. Fox? Your servant, Sir.' Then you said to him, 'Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant? Do servants cast their masters into prison?'" This was the great blow he meant I gave him. Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spake so to me, and I to him; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open Court, and in the face of the country; and would have made them all believe that I struck him outwardly with my hand.

Now were we kept in prison, and many came from far and near to see us; of whom some were people of account in the world; for the report of our trial was spread abroad, and our boldness and innocency in our answers to the judge and Court were talked of in town and country. Among others came Humphry Lower to visit us, a grave, sober old man, who had been a justice of peace; he was very sorry we should lie in prison, telling us how serviceable we might be if we were out of prison, but we reasoned with him concerning swearing; and having acquainted him how they tendered the oath of Abjuration to us, as a snare, because they knew we could not swear, we shewed him that no people could be serviceable to God if they disobeyed the command of Christ; and that they that imprisoned us for the hat-honour which was of men, and which men sought for, prisoned the good, and vexed and grieved the Spirit of God in themselves, which should have turned their minds to God. So we turned him to the Spirit of God in his heart, and to the light of Christ Jesus; and he was thoroughly convinced, and continued so to his death, and was very serviceable to us.

There came also to see us one Colonel Rouse,¹ a justice of peace, with a great company with him. He was as full of words and talk as ever I heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him, to stop him, whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers. "At school!" said he. "Yes." "At school!" said the soldiers; "doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar?" Then said I, "If it be so, be still and receive answers from me to what thou sayest." Then I was moved to speak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that

¹ Probably Anthony Rouse, who succeeded Captain Fox as governor of Pendennis Castle.

he could not open his mouth; his face swelled and was red like a turkey; his lips moved, and he mumbled something; but the people thought he would have fallen down. I stepped to him, and he said, "I was never so in my life before": for the Lord's power stopped the evil power and air in him, so that he was almost choked. The man was ever after very loving to Friends, and never so full of airy words to us, though he was full of pride; but the Lord's power came over him, and the rest that were with him.

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Now the Assize being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment, that we were not likely to be soon released, we brake off from giving the jailer seven shillings a-week each for our horses, and seven for ourselves; and sent our horses out into the country. Upon which he grew very wicked and devilish; and put us down into Doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they used to put witches and murderers, after they were condemned to die. The place was so noisome, that it was said few that went in ever came out again alive. There was no house of office in it; and the excrements of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water and piss; and he would not let us cleanse it, nor suffer us to have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw, and we burnt a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head jailer in a room by them, over us also. Now it seems the smoke went up into the jailer's room, which put him into such a rage that he took the pots of excrements of the thieves, and poured them through a hole upon our heads in Doomsdale; whereby we were so bespattered that we could not touch ourselves or one another. And the stink increased upon us, so that what with that, and what with smoke, we had nearly been choked and smothered. We had the stink under our feet before, but now we had it on our heads and backs also; and he, having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place. Moreover he railed at us most hideously, calling us "hatchet-faced dogs," and such strange names as we had never heard in our lives. In this manner were we fain to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrements. A great while he kept us after

this manner before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we had through the grate. Once a lass brought us a little meat, and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town Court for breaking the prison. Much trouble he put the young woman to, whereby others were so discouraged that we had much to do to get water or drink or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, Anne Downer, from London (that could write, and take things well in short-hand), to get and dress our meat for us, which she was very willing to do, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God; and she was very serviceable to us.

The head-jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was branded in the hand and in the shoulder; his wife, too, had been branded in the hand for some wickedness. The under-jailer had been branded in the hand and shoulder; and his wife in the hand also. Colonel Bennet,¹ who was a Baptist teacher, having purchased the jail and lands belonging to the Castle, had placed this head-jailer therein. The prisoners, and some wild people, talked of spirits that haunted Doomsdale, and how many had died in it; thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing.

By this time the General Quarter Sessions drew nigh; and the jailer still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our sufferings and sent it to the Sessions at Bodmin; upon reading of which the justices gave order that Doomsdale door should be opened and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town. We also sent a copy of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we were taken and committed by Major Ceely, and abused by Captain Keate as aforesaid, and the rest in order, whereupon the Protector sent down an order to Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us, and striking me.

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Hugh Peters, one of the Protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall than to imprison him there. And

¹ Probably Robert Bennet (1605-1683), M.P. for Launceston in 1653 and 1659.

indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for His service in those parts: for after the Assizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue prisoners, several Friends from most parts of the nation came into the country to visit us. Those parts of the West were very dark countries at that time; but the Lord's light and truth brake forth and shined over all, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power unto God. Many were moved to go to the steeple-houses; and several were sent to prison to us; and a great convincement began in the country.

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One time there came a soldier to us; and whilst one of our friends was admonishing of him and exhorting him to sobriety, &c., I saw him begin to draw his sword. Whereupon I stepped to him and told him what a shame it was to offer to draw his sword upon a naked man, and a prisoner; and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry such a weapon; and that if he should have offered such a thing to some men, they would have taken his sword from him, and have broken it to pieces. So he was ashamed, and went his way; and the Lord's power preserved us.

Another time, about the eleventh hour at night, the jailer being half drunk, came and told me he had got a man now to dispute with me (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town). As soon as he spake these words, I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plat to slumber, and I felt something still about my body; and I started up and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and yet still it was about my body. Then I arose and walked into the Castle Green, and the under-keeper came to me and told me there was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words too, therefore I went not into the prison, but to the grate, and looking in, I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjurer, and he had a knife in his hand. I spake to him, and he threatned to cut my chops (as he said); but being within the jail, he could not come at me. This was the jailer's great disputant. I went soon after into the jailer's house, and found him at breakfast; and he had then got his conjurer out with him. I told the jailer his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and struck his napkin away in a rage; and I left them and went away to my chamber; for at this time we were out of Doomsdale. At the time the jailer had said the dispute should be, I went down and

walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour, but nobody came. Then I went up to my chamber again, and after a while I heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairs' head, and there I saw the jailer's wife upon the stairs, and the fortune-teller at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back and in a great rage. I asked him, "Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back? Pluck thy hand before thee," said I; "let us see thy hand and what thou hast in it." Then in a rage he plucked forth his hand with a naked knife in it. I shewed the jailer's wife the wicked design of her husband and herself against me; for this was the man they had brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, and prevented their evil design; they both raged, and he threatned. Then I was moved to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord, which bound him down, so that he never after durst appear before me to speak to me. I saw it was the Lord alone that preserved me out of their bloody hands; for the Devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises unto Him.

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The Lord, who saw the integrity of our hearts to Him, and knew the innocency of our cause, was with us in our sufferings, bore up our spirits, and made them easy to us; and gave us opportunities of publishing His Name and truth amongst the people; so that several of the town came to be convinced, and many were made loving to us. Friends from many parts came to visit us.

Now in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, Truth began mightily to spread, and many were turned to Christ Jesus and His free teaching; for many Friends that came to visit us were drawn forth to declare the truth in those counties; which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare Friends. They placed watches in the streets and highways, on pretence of taking up all suspicious persons; under which colour they stopped and took up the Friends that travelled in and through those countries coming to visit us in prison; which they did that they might not pass up and down in the Lord's service. But that by which they thought to stop the truth was the means of spreading it

so much the more; for then Friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable, and to the other officer, and to the justices they were brought before; and this caused the truth to spread the more amongst them in all their parishes. And when Friends got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again; for no sooner had one constable taken them and carried them before the justices, and they had discharged them, than another would take them up, and carry them before other justices; which put the country to much needless trouble and charges.

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The mayor of Launceston¹ was a drunken, bad man, and loose, for he took up all he could get, and cast them into prison; and he would search substantial grave women, their petticoats and their head-clothes for letters. A young man having come to see us, who came not through the town, I drew up all the gross, inhuman and unchristian actions of the mayor (for his carriage was more like a heathen than a Christian). To him I gave it, and bid him seal it up, and go out again the back way; and then come into the town through the gates. He did so; and the watch took him up, and carried him before the mayor, who presently searched his pockets and found the letter, wherein he saw all his actions characterised. This shamed him so, that from that time he meddled little with the servants of the Lord.

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There coming to my hand a copy of a warrant issued from the Exeter Sessions, in express terms, "for apprehending all Quakers," wherein Truth and Friends were reproached and vilified, I was moved to write an answer thereunto, and send it abroad, for clearing Truth and Friends from the slanders therein cast upon them, and to manifest the wickedness of that persecuting spirit from whence it proceeded; which was after this manner:

Whereas there was a warrant granted forth the last Sessions held at Exeter, on the eighteenth day of the Fifth Month, 1656, which warrant is "for the apprehending and taking up all such as are Quakers or call themselves Quakers or go under the notion of Quakers"; and is directed to the chief constables, to be sent by them to the petty constables, requiring them "to set watches, able men with bills, to take up all such Quakers as aforesaid." And whereas

¹ The mayor in 1655-6 was Philip Peare (or Pearse).

in your said warrant, you speak of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers; I answer, They whom ye in scorn call Quakers have no seditious books or papers; but their books are against sedition, and seditious men, and seditious books, and seditious teachers, and seditious ways. Thus ye have numbered them, who are honest men, godly men, holy men, men that fear God, among beggars, rogues, and vagabonds; thus putting no difference between the precious and the vile. You are not fit to judge, who have set up your bills, and armed your men to stand up together in battle against the innocent people, the lambs of Christ, who have not lifted up a hand against you. But if ye were sensible of the state of your own country, your cities, your towns, your villages, how the cry of them is like Gomorrah, and the ring like Sodom, and the sound like the old world, where all flesh had corrupted its way, which God overthrew with the flood;—if you did consider this with yourselves, you would find something to turn the sword against, and not against the lambs of Christ.

We continued in prison till the next Assize; but we were not called before the judges any more.

While I was in prison here, the Baptists and Fifth-monarchy-men prophesied that this year Christ should come and reign upon earth a thousand years. And they looked upon this reign to be outward, when He was come inwardly in the hearts of His people, to reign and rule there, and these professors would not thus receive Him. So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of Him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell in the hearts of His people and reign there. Thousands, at the door of whose hearts He hath been knocking, have opened to Him; and He is come in, and doth sup with them and they with Him; the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual Man. So many of these Baptist and Monarchy-people became the greatest enemies to the possessors of Christ; but He reigns in the hearts of His saints over all their envy.

At the Assize divers justices came to us and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God soberly, having a pity towards us. Captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, came and looked me in the face, and said not a word; but went to his company, and told them he never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said, "Stay, man, we will see who is the simpler man." But he went his way; a light chaffy man.

One Thomas Lower also came to visit us, and offered us money; we accepted of his love but refused his money. He

asked us many questions concerning our denying the Scriptures to be the word of God; and concerning the sacraments and such like, to all which he received satisfaction. I spake to him and he afterwards said my words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him. He said he never met with such wise men in his life; for they knew the thoughts of his heart, and were as the wise master-builders of the assemblies, that fastned their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a Friend to this day. When he came home to his aunt Hambly's,¹ where he then lived, and made report to her concerning us, she, with her sister, Grace Billing, hearing the report of Truth, came to visit us in prison, and was convinced also. Great sufferings and spoiling of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the truth's sake.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following exhortation to Friends in the ministry:

FRIENDS,—In the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord God of life, and heaven, and earth, dwell, that in the wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved, and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad, awakening the witness, confounding deceit, gathering out of transgression into the life, the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God; go through the work; be valiant for the truth upon earth; and tread and trample all that is contrary under. . . .

The ministers of the Spirit must minister to the Spirit that is in prison, which hath been in captivity in every one, that with the Spirit of Christ people may be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of Spirits, do service to Him, and have unity with Him, with the Scriptures, and one with another. Be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them; then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you: then to the Lord God you will be a sweet savour, and a blessing. . . .

G. F.

After the Assizes, the sheriff, with some soldiers, came to guard a woman to execution that was sentenced to die; and we had much discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, "Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth"; for which we rebuked him. Another time we asked the

¹ Loveday Hambly (c. 1604–1682), of Tregangeeves, near St. Austell.

jailer what doings there were at the Sessions; and he said, "Small matters; only about thirty for bastardy." We thought it very strange that they who professed themselves Christians should make small matters of such things. But this jailer was very bad himself; I often admonished him to sobriety; but he abused people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him from Bristol by his wife; and the jailer took it from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said; and though they found no treason in the cheese, they kept it from us. This jailer might have been rich if he had carried himself civilly, but he sought his own ruin which soon after came upon him; for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness cast into the jail himself; and there begged of our Friends. And for some unruliness in his carriage, he was, by the succeeding jailer, put into Doomsdale, locked in irons, and beaten; and bid to remember how he had abused those good men whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon; and told that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness; and the same measure he had meted to others should be meted out to himself. He became very poor, and died in prison; and his wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison in Launceston, a Friend¹ went to O. C. and offered his body to lie in Doomsdale in my stead, if he would take him, and let me have liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said to his great men and Council, "Which of you would do so much for me if I were in the same condition?" And though he did not accept of the Friend's offer, but said he could not do it, for that it was contrary to law, yet the truth thereby came mightily over him.

After this Major Desborough came to the Castle Green, and played at bowls with the justices and others. Several Friends were moved to go and admonish them not to spend their time so vainly; desiring them to consider that though they professed themselves to be Christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God meanwhile in prison; and telling them the Lord would plead with them, and visit them for such things; but notwithstanding what was written or said to him, he went away and left us in prison. We understood afterwards that he left the business to Colonel

¹His name was Humphrey Norton.

Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For sometime after, Bennet would have set us at liberty if we would have paid his jailer's fees. But we told him we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers; and how could they expect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully? After a while Colonel Bennet, coming to town, sent for us to an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused. At last the power of the Lord came so over him, that he freely set us at liberty on the 13th day of the Seventh Month, 1656. We had been prisoners nine weeks at the first Assize, called the Lent-Assize, which was in the spring of the year.

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CHAPTER IX

A TOUR THROUGH ENGLAND

1656-1657

BEING released from our imprisonment we came through the countries to Exeter, where many Friends were in prison, and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before we were set at liberty, James had run out into imaginations, and a company with him: which raised up a great darkness in the nation. He came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there: and from thence he was coming to Launceston to see me; but was stopped by the way, and imprisoned at Exeter.

The night we came to Exeter I spake with James Nayler; for I saw he was out and wrong, and so was his company. Next day, being the First-day, we went to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler and some of them could not stay the meeting. The next day I spake to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said and was dark and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said that since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his shew of kindness; the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen up amongst Friends to war against, and I admonished him and his company. When he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens. But he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to Truth again.

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We came to Edward Pyot's house near Bristol, on the Seventh-day at night, and it was quickly noised over the town that I was come. I had never been there before.

On the First-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol, which was large and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the Orchard. There was at Bristol a rude Baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had before made

great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him. Such multitudes of rude people he gathered after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the Orchard. As I was going into the Orchard the people told me that Paul Gwin, the rude jangling Baptist, was going to the meeting. I bid them never heed, it was nothing to me who went to it.

When I was come into the Orchard, I stood upon the stone that Friends used to stand on when they spake; and I was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to stand a pretty while and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude Baptist began to find fault with my hair, but I said nothing to him. Then he ran on into words; and at last, "Ye wise men of Bristol," said he, "I strange at you, that you will stand here and hear a man speak, and affirm that which he cannot make good." Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people whether they ever heard me speak; or ever saw me before: and I bid them take notice what kind of man this was amongst them that should so impudently say that I spake and affirmed that which I could not make good; and yet neither he nor they had ever heard me or seen me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit that spake in him; and it was of the Devil, and not of God. I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent: and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company. Then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had. For many hours did I declare the word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by Him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to Him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would lead into all Truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over all. When I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. The meeting brake up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shined over all: a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise.

After a while this Paul Gwin went beyond the seas: many years after I met with him again at Barbados.

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The First-day following we went to Nathaniel Cripps's house,¹ who had been a justice of peace in Wiltshire, where it was supposed there were between two and three thousand people at a meeting; and all was quiet.

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Next day we went to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting. The Sessions being held that day, they were about to grant a warrant to send for me; but one Justice Stooks² being at the Sessions, stopped them, telling them there was a meeting at his house yesterday, at which there were several thousands. So the warrant was stopped, and the meeting was quiet; and several received Christ Jesus their Teacher, came into the new covenant, and abode in it.

From hence we rode to London, and when we came near Hyde Park we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode to his coach-side; and some of his life-guard would have put me away, but he forbad them. So I rode by with him declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation; shewing him how contrary this persecution was to Christ and His apostles, and to Christianity. When we arrived at James's Park-gate, I left him; and at parting he desired me to come to his house. Next day, one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Saunders, came to me at my lodging, and told me her master came to her and said he would tell her some good news. When she asked him what it was, he told her George Fox was come to town. She replied that was good news indeed (for she had received Truth), but she said she could hardly believe him till he told her how I met him and rode from Hyde Park to James's Park with him.

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall, and when we came before him, Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, was with him, and we were moved to speak to Oliver Cromwell concerning the sufferings of Friends, and laid them before him; and directed him to the light of Christ, who enlightneth every man that cometh into the world. He said it was a natural light; but we shewed him the contrary, and manifested that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly Man; and that which was called the life in Christ the Word, was called the light in us.

¹ Nathaniel Cripps lived at Tetbury.

² Edward Stokes (c. 1615-1667) lived at Tytherton Lucas.

The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus. Several times I spake to him to the same effect. Now I was standing by the table, and he came and sate upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was; and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went away in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him, so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, "I never parted so from them before"; for he was judged in himself.

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Having travelled over most part of the nation, I returned to London again, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Launceston jail, I was moved of the Lord to travel over the nation, the truth being now spread, and finely planted in most places, that I might answer and remove out of the minds of people some objections which the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us. For what Christ said of false prophets and antichrists coming in the last days they applied to us, and said we were they.

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In this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for tithes, and going to the steeple-houses, and for contempts, and not swearing, and not putting off their hats.

Now after I had compassed most parts of the nation I returned to London again. And then O. P. began to harden, and several Friends were turned out of their offices of justices and other offices, and turned out of the army.

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I writ a short epistle to Friends to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power.

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About this time many mouths were opened in our meetings to declare the goodness of the Lord, and some that were young and tender in the truth would sometimes utter a few words in thanksgiving and praises to God. That no disorder might arise

from this in our meetings, I was moved to write an epistle to Friends, by way of advice in that matter. And thus it was:

All my dear friends in the noble Seed of God, who have known His power, life, and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any: through which ye may have all unity in the same, feeling life and power. And above all things, take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings, except they be openly profane or rebellious, such as be out of the truth; that by the power, life, and wisdom ye may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such, whom ye bear your testimony against, are none of you: so that therein the truth may stand clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the Seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that; that is, the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for peace and order's sake, and that the spirits of the world be not moved against you. But when the meeting is done, then if any be moved to speak to them, between you and them, one or two of you that feel it in the life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle from above: for love is that which doth edify, bears all things, suffers long, and doth fulfil the law. So in this ye have order and edification, ye have wisdom to preserve you all wise and in patience; which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world to get up: but in the royal Seed, the heavy stone, ye keep down all that is wrong; and by it answer that of God in all. For ye will hear, see, and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is all in it (when ye do not hear words), to bind, to chain, to limit, to frustrate; that nothing shall rise nor come forth but what is in the power: for with that ye will hold back, and with that ye will let up, and open every spring, plant, and spark; in which will be your joy and refreshment in the power of God.

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And, Friends, though ye may have been convinced, and have tasted of the power, and felt the light; yet afterwards ye may feel a winter storm, tempest and hail, frost and cold, and temptation in the wilderness. Be patient and still in the power and in the light that doth convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the summer, that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye sit still in the patience, which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no flying. G. F.

Having stayed some time in London and visited the meetings of Friends in and about the City, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I travelled into Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, visiting Friends, amongst whom I had great meetings; and many times I met with opposition from Baptists and other jangling professors, but the Lord's power went over them.

We lay one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting, and the people were exceeding rude; but at last the Lord's power came over them. After it we went to our inn, and gave notice that any that feared God might come to us; and there came abundance of rude people, the magistrates of the town also, and some professors. I declared the truth unto them; and those of the people that behaved rudely the magistrates put out of the room. When they were gone there came up another rude company of professors and some of the heads of the town. They called for faggots¹ and drink, though we forbade them; and were as rude a carriaged people as ever I met with. The Lord's power chained them that they had not power to do us any mischief; but when they went away, they left all their faggots and beer which they had called for into the room for us to pay for in the morning. We shewed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was, yet he told us we must pay it, and pay it we did. Before we left the town I wrote a paper to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priest shewing him how he had taught his people, and of their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers that sought their good.

Leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town, where they had formerly very much abused Friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of it I was moved to put off my hat, and pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report upon me and said that I was a very good man, and put off my hat to them and bid them good night, which was never in my heart. After the meeting, when we came to our inn, the George, we sent for the innkeeper (as I used to do), and he came into the room to us, and shewed himself a very rude man. I admonished him to be sober and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself; then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bid him go out of the chamber, and told him he should not drink there, for we sent for him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good. He was exceeding mad, and rude, and drunk; but I told him the chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it, and called for the key. At last he went his ways in a great rage. In the morning he would not be seen; but I told his wife of his unchristian and rude behaviour towards us.

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¹ That is, meat-rolls.

We then travelled on till we came to Exeter; and at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge foot, had a general meeting of Friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about, as with a wall and bulwark, and His seed reached from sea to sea. Friends were established in the everlasting Seed of life, Christ Jesus, their life, rock, teacher and shepherd.

We passed on through the countries, having meetings and gathering people in the name of Christ, to Him their heavenly Teacher, till we came to Brecknock, where we set up our horses at an inn. I walked out but a little into the fields, and when I came in again the town was in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn, it was full of people, and they were speaking in Welsh; I desired them to speak in English, which they did, and much discourse we had. After a while they went away; but towards night the magistrates gathered together in the streets, with a multitude of people, and they bid them shout, and gathered up the town; so that for about two hours together there was such a noise that the like we had not heard; and the magistrates set them on to shout again, when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar which we read was amongst Diana's craftsmen. This tumult continued till night; and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they seemed likely to have pulled down the house and us to pieces.

At night, the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room, but we discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under pretence of discoursing with us. We told her no persons should come into our room that night, neither would we go to them. Then she said we should sup in another room, a great hall; but we told her we would have no supper if not in our own room. At length, when she saw she could not get us out, she brought up our supper in a great rage. So she and they were crossed in their design, for they had an intent to do us mischief; but the Lord God prevented them. Next morning I writ a paper to the town concerning their unchristian conduct, shewing the fruits of their priests and magistrates; and as I passed out of the town I spake to the people, and told them they were a shame to Christianity and religion.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended there fell a mighty rain, that Friends said they thought we could not pass the brooks, the waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had not extended so far as they had come that day to the meeting. Next day in the afternoon, when we came back into some parts of Wales again, the roads were all dust, and no rain had fallen thereabouts. And it was a noted thing generally amongst people that when I came, still I brought rain, and it had been so for many years.

When O. P. gave forth a proclamation¹ for a fast throughout the nation, for rain, when there was a very mighty drought, it was observed that as far as Truth had spread in the North there were pleasant showers and rain enough, when up in the South, in many places, they were almost spoiled for want of rain. And the like observation and expectation they have beyond the seas—when there is a drought they generally look for the Quakers' general meetings, for then they know they shall have rain. And as they receive the truth and become fruitful unto God, they receive from Him their fruitful seasons also. At that time I was moved to write an answer² to the Protector's proclamation, wherein I told him if he had come to own God's truth he should have had rain; and that drought was a sign unto them of their barrenness, and want of the water of life.

¹ Dated 20th March, 1653-4.

² Entitled *A Warning from the Lord to all such as hang down the head for a day*, etc., 1654.

CHAPTER X

THROUGH WALES TO SWARTHMOOR

1657

WE passed into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like a leaguer for multitudes. I walked a little aside whilst the people were gathering. When they were well gathered I went into the meeting, and stood upon a chair about three hours, sometimes resting my hand upon a man's head. I stood a pretty while before I began to speak. After some time I felt the power of the Lord go over the whole assembly, and His everlasting life and truth shined over all. The Scriptures were opened to them, and their objections answered. They were directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly Man; that by it they might all see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and come to feed on Him, the bread of life from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and His free teaching that day; and people said that they thought if I would come again all the country would be convinced. And all were bowed down under the power of God; so that though the multitude was so great that many sate on horseback to hear, there was no opposition. A priest who sate with his wife on horseback heard attentively and made no objection. The people parted peaceably and quietly, with great satisfaction; many of them saying they never heard such a sermon before, or the Scriptures so opened.

I went back thence to Leominster, where was a great meeting in a close, many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were about six Separate preachers and priests among them. I stood up and declared about three hours; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition, the Lord's power and truth so reached them and bound them down. At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me, drew several of the people after him, and began to preach to them. So I kept our meeting, and he kept his.

When I had thus opened the matter to the people, the priest¹ cried to the magistrates, "Take this man away, or else I shall not speak any more." "But," said I, "Priest Tombs, deceive not thyself, thou art not in thy pulpit now, nor in thy old mass-house; but we are in the fields." So he was shuffling to be gone.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings, till I came to Tenby; where, as I rode up the street, a justice of peace² came out of his house, desired me to alight, and stay at his house; and I did so. On the First-day the mayor³ and his wife, and several of the chief of the town, came in about ten o'clock, and stayed all the time of the meeting. A glorious one it was. John ap John being then with me, left it, and went to the steeple-house, and the governor cast him into prison. On the Second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house to fetch me; which grieved the mayor and the justice, for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. So the mayor and the justice went up to the governor before me; and a while after I went up with the officer. When I came in, I said, "Peace be unto this house." And before the governor could examine me, I asked him why he cast my friend into prison. He said, "For standing with his hat on in the church." I said, "Had not the priest¹ two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat and then my friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat were only to save the rain from his neck." "These are frivolous things," said the governor. "Why then," said I, "dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?" So then he began to ask me whether I owned election and reprobation. "Yes," said I, "and thou art in the reprobation." At that he was up in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it; but I told him I would prove that quickly, if he would confess Truth. Then I asked him whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and His disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any. Then he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste and passion in him. I told him Esau was up in him, the first birth, not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached and came over him, that he confessed to Truth; and the other justice came, and took me by the hand.

¹ John Tombs, B.D. (1603-1676), Baptist.

² Said to be Thomas Barrett.

³ Probably Richard Barrow.

⁴ Perhaps Edward Carner, a Commonwealth holder of the living.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again, and he invited me to dine with him; and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and divers other Friends of the town, went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free Teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power, and the Lord had the glory.

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And at night we came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap; for our own provision and our two horses cost but eight-pence; but the horses would as soon eat the heath on the common as their oats. We declared the truth to the people of the place, and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries.

Thence we came to a great town and went to an inn. In the evening many people gathered about the inn; and some of them, being drunk, would fain have had us into the street again; but seeing their design, I told them if there were any that feared God and desired to hear the truth, they might come into our inn, or else we might have a meeting with them next morning. Some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over-night and in the morning; and though the people were hard to receive the truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to Himself. In that inn also I turned but my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse; and looking round again, I observed he was filling his pockets with the provender. A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food. I would rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town and travelling on, a great man overtook us on the way, and he purposed (as he told us afterwards) to take us up at the next town for highwaymen. But before we came to the town I was moved of the Lord God to speak to him. What I spake reached to the witness of God in the man, who was so affected therewith, that he had us to his house, and entertained us very civilly. He and his wife desired us to give them some Scriptures, both for proof of our principles and against the priests. We were glad of the service, and furnished them with Scriptures enough; and he writ them down, and was

convinced of the truth, both by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the Scriptures, which were a confirmation to him. Afterwards he set us on our journey, and as we travelled we came to a hill, which the people of the country say is two or three miles high;¹ from the side of this hill I could see a great way. And I was moved to set my face several ways, and to sound the day of the Lord there; and I told John ap John in what places God would raise up a people to Himself, to sit under His own teaching. Those places he took note of, and a great people have since been raised up there. The like I have been moved to do in many other rude places; and yet I have been moved to declare the Lord had a Seed in those parts, and afterwards there have been a brave people raised up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jesus; where they have salvation and free teaching.

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From hence we went to Beaumaris, a town wherein John ap John had formerly been a Separate preacher. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went forth and spake through the street: and there being a garrison in the town, they took him and put him into prison. The innkeeper's wife came and told me that the governor and magistrates were sending for me to commit me to prison also. I told her they had done more than they could answer already; and had acted contrary to Christianity in imprisoning him for reprovng sin in their streets and for declaring the truth. Soon after came other friendly people, and told me if I went out into the street they would imprison me also; and therefore they desired me to keep at the inn. Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down the streets; and told the people what an uncivil and unchristian thing they had done, in casting my friend into prison. And they being high professors, I asked them if this was the entertainment they had for strangers; if they would willingly be so served themselves; and whether they, who looked upon the Scriptures to be their rule, had any example therein from Christ or His apostles for what tney had done. So after a while they set John ap John at liberty.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross a great water: and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us; amongst whom we had good service for the Lord. After the Lord's truth had been declared

¹ Presumably Cader Idris.

to them in the power of God, and Christ the free Teacher set over all the hireling teachers, I bid John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild gentlemen, as they called them, got into it, whom we found very rude men, they, with others, kept his horse out of the boat. I rode to the boat's side and spake to them, shewing them what unmanly and unchristian conduct it was; and told them they shewed an unworthy spirit, below Christianity or humanity. As I spake, I leaped my horse into the boat amongst them, thinking John's horse would have followed, when he had seen mine go in before him; but the water being deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water, and stayed with John on that side till the boat returned. There we tarried from the eleventh hour to the second before the boat came to fetch us; and then we had forty-two miles to ride that evening: and when we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat¹ left between us in money. We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses. Setting forward again, we came in the night to an ale-house, but finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled on all night; and about four o'clock in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham; where that day we met with many Friends, and had a glorious meeting. Very weary we were with travelling so hard up and down in Wales; and in some places we found it difficult to get meat for our horses, or ourselves either in many places.

Next day we passed thence into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, and wild, and airy they were, and little sense of Truth they had: yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning there was a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her lightness she came and asked me if she should cut my hair: but I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the Spirit of God. And afterwards in her frothy mind she made her boast that she came behind me and cut off the curl of my hair; but she spake falsely.

I travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the

¹ About fourpence.

everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching.

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Thence we came to Manchester; and the Sessions being there that day, many rude people were come out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me coals, clods, stones and water; yet the Lord's power bore me up over them, that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the Sessions; who thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people, and plucked me down, and haled me up into their Court. When I came there, all the Court was in disorder and noise. Wherefore I asked where were the magistrates that they did not keep the people civil. Some of the justices said they were magistrates. I asked them why then did they not appease the people, and keep them sober, for one cried, "I'll swear," and another cried, "I'll swear." I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people who threw stones, and clods, and water; and how I was haled out of the meeting, and brought thither, contrary to the Instrument of Government which said, "None shall be molested in their meetings that professed God, and owned the Lord Jesus Christ"; which I did. So the truth came over them, that when one of the rude fellows cried he would swear, one of the justices checked him, saying, "What will you swear? hold your tongue." At last they bid the constable take me to my lodging, and there be secured till morning, till they sent for me again. So the constable had me to my lodging; and as we went the people were exceeding rude; but I let them see the fruits of their teachers, and how they shamed Christianity, and dishonoured the name of Jesus, which they professed. At night we went to a justice's house in the town, who was pretty moderate; and I had much discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had anything more to say to us. And he sent us word he had nothing to say to us, but that we might go whither we would. The Lord hath since raised up a people to stand for His name and truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester, having many precious meetings in several places, till we came over the Sands to Swarthmoor, where Friends were glad to see me. I stayed there two First-

days, visiting Friends in their meetings thereaways. They rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by His eternal power had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in His service: to Him be the praise for ever!

And in the old Parliament's days many people that used to wear ribands, and lace, and costly apparel, and followed junketing and feasting with priests and professors, came to leave it off when they came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, and to walk and serve God in the spirit as the Apostle did. They left off their curious apparel and ribands and lace, and their sporting and feasting with priests and professors, and would not go to wakes or plays or shows, as they formerly had used to do, and would not wear gold or silver or lace or ribands, nor make them.

Then the priests and professors raged exceedingly against us and printed books against us; and said that our religion lay in not wearing fine clothes, and lace, and ribands, and in not eating good cheer, when we could not make feasts for the priests or professors as we used to do, nor feasts for companies in the cities; but if they would join with us, when they made feasts, to feast such as could not feast them again, we would make a feast for all the poor of the parish that could not feast us and them again. And this was according to Christ's command, but in this their selfish principle would never join with us.

We told them that when they went to their sports, and games, and plays, and the like, they had better serve God than spend their time so vainly. And that costly apparel, with the lace that we formerly had hung upon our backs that kept us not warm, with that we could maintain a company of poor people that had no clothes.¹

And so our religion lay not in meats, nor drinks, nor clothes, nor Thee nor Thou, nor putting off hats nor making curtseys (at which they were greatly offended because we Thee'd and Thou'd them and could not put off our hats nor bow to them), and therefore they said our religion lay in such things. But our answer was, "Nay; for though the spirit of God led into that which was comely and decent, and from chambering and wantonness, and from sporting and pastimes and feasting as in the day of slaughter, and from wearing costly apparel, as the Apostle commands, and from the world's honour, fashions and customs—our religion lies in that which

¹ Cp. William Penn's maxim: "The very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked ones."

brings to visit the poor, and fatherless, and widows, and keeps from the spots of the world (which religion is pure and undefiled before God). This is our religion which we own, which the apostles were in above 1600 years since; and we do deny all vain religions got up since, which are not only spotted with the world, but plead for a body of sin and death to the grave; and their widows and fatherless lie begging up and down the streets and countries.”

In the Presbyterian and Independents’ anti-christian times, who were against the gospel of peace, we had a meeting in the Palace Yard,¹ but it was so pestered with rude priests, watermen, and lackeys, and rude professors, that sometimes there would be many hundreds about it. And we could seldom keep any glass whole in the windows, it would be so often broken down by the rude company.

And one time, at the Palace Yard, as I was declaring the eternal word of life and preaching the everlasting seed of life, many hundreds of people were gathered, some being attentive, but many of the rude ones so bespattered me with dirt and muck, that my hair or clothes could hardly be seen, nor face, for dirt and muck. And some outlandish and other civil people were so ashamed to see what a dishonour this was to Christianity that they began to reprove and stop the rude people; so, as the rude ones fell upon them, they were forced to take sanctuary in Westminster Hall, and fled there for safety.

Such disturbance we had in our meetings in the City and in many places of the country also.

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¹ Probably the house of Stephen Hart, New Palace Yard.

CHAPTER XI

IN SCOTLAND

1657

AFTER I had tarried two First-days at Swarthmoor, and had visited Friends in their meetings thereabouts, I passed into Westmorland in the same work till I came to John Audland's, where there was a general meeting. The night before I had a vision of a desperate creature that was coming to destroy me, but I got victory over it. And next day in meeting-time came one Otway,¹ with some rude fellows. He rode round about the meeting with his sword or rapier, and would fain have gotten in through the Friends to me; but the meeting being great, the Friends stood thick, so that he could not come at me. When he had rid about several times raging, and found he could not get in, being limited by the Lord's power, he went away. It was a glorious meeting, ended peaceably, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all. This wild man went home, became distracted, and not long after died. I sent a paper to John Blaykling to read to him when he was in his distractions, shewing him his wickedness; and he did acknowledge something of it.

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I passed hence to a general meeting at Christopher Fell's in Cumberland,² which was very large; for most of the people had so forsaken the priests that the steeple-houses in some places stood empty. And John Wilkinson, a preacher who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left that, giving over preaching in them, he first set up a meeting in his house, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he set up a silent meeting (like Friends), to which came a few; for most of his auditors were come to Friends. Thus he held on till he had not past half a dozen left; the rest still forsaking him, and coming to Friends. At last, when he had so very few left, he

¹ George Otway, brother of Sir John Otway.

² The home of Christopher Fell was Langlands in Uldale parish.

would come to Pardshaw Crag (where Friends had a meeting of several hundreds of people, who were all come to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching), and he would walk about the meeting on the First-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. During this time I came to Pardshaw Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers that were yet left to him, came to the meeting that day, and were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting Wilkinson asked me two or three questions, which I answered him to his satisfaction; and from that time he came amongst Friends, became an able minister, preached the gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free ministry of Jesus, he died in the truth.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland; and had sent to Colonel William Osburne, desiring him to come and meet me; and he, with some others, came out of Scotland to this meeting. After the meeting was over (which, he said, was the most glorious one he ever saw in his life), I passed with him and his company into Scotland.

The first night we came into Scotland we lodged at an inn. The innkeeper told us an Earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had a desire to see me;¹ and had left word at his house that if ever I came into Scotland he should send him word. He told us there were three drawbridges to his house, and that it would be nine o'clock before the third bridge was drawn. Finding we had time in the evening, we walked to his house. He received us very lovingly; and said he would have gone with us on our journey, but he was previously engaged to go to a funeral. After we had spent some time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we travelled on, and passing through Dumfries came to Douglas, where we met with some Friends; and thence passed to the Heads, where we had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt Him in the midst.

Leaving Heads, we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there; to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced. From thence we passed towards the Highlands to William Osburne's house, where we gathered up the sufferings of Friends, and the principles of the Scotch priests, which may be seen in a book called *The Scotch Priests' Principles*.²

¹ Probably Robert, second Earl of Nithsdale, whose home was the Castle of Caerlaverock.

² Written by George Weare, *et al.*, 1657; enlarged 1659.

Afterwards we returned to Heads, Badcow and Gartshore, where the Lady Margaret Hamilton was convinced, who afterwards went to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

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The noise was spread over Scotland amongst the priests that I was come thither; and a great cry was among them that all would be spoiled; for they said I had spoiled all the honest men and women in England already, so according to their account the worst was left to them. Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a number of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, that all the people might say "Amen" to them.

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Now were the priests in such a rage, that they posted to Edinburgh to Oliver Cromwell's Council there, with petitions against me. After I had gathered the principles of the Scotch priests, and the sufferings of Friends, and had settled the Friends thereaways upon Christ their foundation, I went to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Linlithgow; where, lodging at an inn, the innkeeper's wife, who was blind, received the word of life, and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus her Saviour. At night there came in abundance of soldiers and officers, with whom we had much discourse; some were rude.

When I had stayed a while at Edinburgh I went to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives, and many were convinced. Among these Edward Billing's wife was one; she brought a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it on the table before me to see whether I would speak against it or no. I took no notice of it, but declared the truth to her, and she was reached. There came in a many Baptists, who were very rude, but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded. Then there came in another sort, and one of them said he would dispute with me; and for argument's sake would deny there was a God. I told him he might be one of those fools that said in his heart, There is no God, but he should know Him in the day of His judgment. So he went his way; and a precious time we had afterwards with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all. Edward Billing and his wife at that time lived apart; and she being

reached by Truth, and become loving to Friends, we sent for her husband, who came; and the Lord's power reached unto them both, they joined in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity as man and wife.

After this we returned to Edinburgh, where many thousands were gathered together, with abundance of priests among them about burning a witch, and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them. When I had done, I went to our meeting, whither many rude people and Baptists came. The Baptists began to vaunt with their logic and syllogisms; but I was moved in the Lord's power to thrash their chaffy, light minds; and shewed the people that, after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black white; as, that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs, therefore they were all cocks. Thus they might turn anything into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ or His apostles, to teach, speak, or reason after that manner. Hereupon those Baptists went their way, and after they were gone we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.

I mentioned before that many of the Scotch priests, being greatly disturbed at the spreading of Truth, and the loss of their hearers thereby, were gone to Edinburgh, to petition the Council against me. Now, when I came from the meeting to the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the Council brought me the following order:

*Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness's Council
in Scotland.*

ORDERED,—That George Fox do appear before the Council on Tuesday, the 13th of October next, in the forenoon.

EMANUEL DOWNING, Clerk of the Council.

When he had delivered me the order, he asked me whether I would appear or not. I did not tell him whether I would or not; but asked him if he had not forged the order: he said no, it was a real order from the Council, and he was sent, as their messenger, with it. When the time came I appeared, and was had up into a large room at the Parliament House, where many great persons came and looked at me. After a while the door-keeper had me into the Council-chamber; and as I was going in, he took off my hat. I asked him why he did so, and who was there, that I might not go in with my hat on, for I told him I had been before the Protector with it on. But he hung it up,

and had me in before them. When I had stood a while, and they had said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, "Peace be amongst you; wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive His wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things unto your hands to God's glory." They asked me what was the occasion of my coming into that nation. I told them I came to visit the seed of God, which had long lain in bondage under corruption; and the intent of my coming was that all in the nation that professed the Scriptures, the words of Christ and of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, spirit and power which they were in, who gave them forth; that so in and by the Spirit they might understand the Scriptures, know Christ and God aright, and have fellowship with them and with the Scriptures, and one with another. They asked me whether I had any outward business there. I said, "Nay." Then they asked me how long I intended to stay in the country. I told them I should say little to that; my time was not to be long, yet in my freedom in the Lord I stood in the will of Him that sent me. Then they bid me withdraw, and the door-keeper took me by the hand, and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me again, and told me I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day seventh night. I asked them why, what had I done; what was my transgression, that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation. They told me they would not dispute with me. Then I desired them to hear what I had to say to them; but they said they would not hear me. I told them Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, and yet he was a heathen and no Christian, and Herod heard John the Baptist; and they should not be worse than these. But they cried, "Withdraw, withdraw." Whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand and led me out. Then I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh, visiting Friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. After a little time I wrote a letter to the Council, to lay before them their unchristian dealing in banishing me, an innocent man, that sought their salvation and eternal good.

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When this was delivered, and read amongst them, some of them, I heard, were troubled at what they had done, being made sensible that they would not be so served themselves. But it was not long before they that banished me were banished

themselves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor suffer others that would.

And I saw General Monke¹ that he was a man that bowed under O. P. and had a covering over him; and take away that covering, and then he was the man as he was before. He did fulfil it in a few years after.

After I had spent some time among Friends at Edinburgh, and thereabouts, I passed to Heads again, where Friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given charge that none should buy or sell, or eat or drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities, nor buy what they wanted; which made it go very hard with some of them; for if they had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbours, the priests threatned them so with curses that they would run and fetch it from them again. But Colonel Ashfield, being a justice of peace in that country, gave a stop to the priests' proceedings. This Colonel Ashfield was afterwards convinced, had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the truth among them.

After I had visited Friends at Heads and thereaways, and had encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was appointed; but never a one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates took me before the governor, who was a moderate man. Much discourse I had with him; but he was too light to receive the truth, yet he set me at liberty; so I passed to the meeting. But seeing none of the town's-people came, we declared Truth through the town, and so passed away; and having visited Friends in their meetings thereabouts, returned towards Badcow.

Once as I was going with Colonel Osburne to his house, there lay a company of rude fellows by the wayside, hid under the hedges and in bushes. Spying them, I asked him what they were. "Oh," said he, "they are thieves." Robert Widders, being moved to go and speak to a priest, was left behind, intending to come after. So I said to Colonel Osburne, "I will stay here in this valley, and do thou go look after Robert Widders"; but he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone, because of those fellows, till I told him I feared them not. Then I called to them, asking them what they lay lurking there for, and I bid them come up to me; but they were loath to come.

¹ General George Monck (1608-1670) became the first Duke of Albemarle.

I charged them to come up to me, or else it might be worse with them. Then they came trembling, for the dread of the Lord had struck them. I admonished them to be honest, and directed them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. I stayed there till Colonel Osburne and Robert Widders came up, and then we passed on together. But it is likely that, if we two had gone away before, they would have robbed Robert Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them.

We went to Colonel Osburne's house, where we had a good opportunity to declare the truth to several people that came in. Then we went among the Highlanders, who were so devilish that they had like to have spoiled us and our horses; for they ran at us with pitch-forks; but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by His power.

Thence we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers took us up, and had us to the main-guard. After a few words with the officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty: but no meeting could we get amongst them in the town, they were so closed up in darkness. Next morning there came a man with a horse that was to run a race, and most of the town's-people and officers went to see it. As they came back from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord, and His word of life amongst them. Some confessed to it, and some opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all.

Leaving Stirling we came to Burntisland, where I had two meetings at one Captain Poole's house; one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Whilst they went to dine I walked to the seaside, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good Friends afterwards, and several officers of the army came in and received the truth.

We passed thence through several other places till we came to Johnstons,¹ where were several Baptists that were very bitter and came in a rage to dispute with us: vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. When they could not prevail by disputing, they went and informed the governor against us, and next morning raised a whole company of foot, and banished me and Alexander Parker, also James Lancaster and Robert Widders, out of the town. As they guarded us through the town we got on our horses. James Lancaster was moved to sing with

¹ Now named Perth.

a melodious sound in the power of God; and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the glorious, everlasting gospel to the people. For they generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them: and the soldiers were so ashamed that they said they would rather have gone to Jamaica than have guarded us so. But we were put into a boat with our horses, carried over the water, and there left.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons, we went to another market-town,¹ where Edward Billing and many soldiers quartered. We went to an inn, and desired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlasting gospel amongst them. The officers and soldiers said we should have it in the town-hall; but the Scotch magistrates, in spite, appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town. When the officers of the soldiery understood this and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us to go into the town-hall nevertheless. But we told them "By no means," for then the magistrates might inform the governor against them, and say they took the town-hall from them by force when they were to do their town business therein. We told them we would go to the market-place; they said it was market-day; we replied it was so much the better; for we would have all people to hear Truth, and know our principles. Alexander Parker went and stood upon the market-cross with a Bible in his hand, and declared the truth amongst the soldiers and market-people; but the Scots, being a dark, carnal people, gave little heed, and hardly took notice of what was said. After a while I was moved of the Lord to stand up at the cross, and declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Whereupon the people came running out of the town-hall, and they gathered so together that at last we had a large meeting; for they sate in the Court only for a pretence to hinder us from having the hall to meet in. When the people were come away, the magistrates followed them. Some walked by, but some stayed and heard; and the Lord's power came over all, and kept all quiet.

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We travelled from this town to Leith, warning and exhorting people, as we went, to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me that the Council had granted warrants to apprehend

¹ Perhaps Dundee.

me, because I was not gone out of the nation after the seven days were expired that they had ordered me to depart in. Several friendly people also came and told me the same; to whom I said, "What! do ye tell me of their warrants against me? if there were a cart-load of them I do not heed them, for the Lord's power is over them all."

I went from Leith to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants of the Council were out against me. I came to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had visited Friends in the city, I desired those Friends that travelled with me to get ready their horses in the morning, and we rode out of town together; there were with me at that time Thomas Rawlinson, Alexander Parker and Robert Widders. When we were out of town they asked me whither I would go. I told them it was upon me from the Lord to go back again to Johnstons (the town out of which we had been lately thrust) to set the power of God and His truth over them also. Alexander Parker said he would go along with me; and I told the other two that they might stay at a town about three miles from Edinburgh till we returned. Then Alexander and I got over the water, about three miles across, and rode on through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse being weak, and not able to hold up with mine, I put on and got into Johnstons just as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and soldiers never questioning me. I rode up the street to Captain Davenport's house, from which we had been banished. There were many officers with him; and when I came amongst them, they lifted up their hands, admiring that I should come again; but I told them the Lord God had sent me amongst them again; so they went their way. The Baptists sent me a letter, by way of challenge, to discourse with me next day. I sent them word I would meet them at such a house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour. For I considered, if I should stay in town to discourse with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with me, have raised men to put me out of the town again as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place, Captain Davenport and his son accompanying me, where I stayed some hours, but never a one of them came. While I stayed there waiting for them I saw Alexander Parker coming; who not being able to reach the town, had lain out the night before; and I was exceeding glad that we were met again.

This Captain Davenport was then loving to Friends; but afterwards coming more into obedience to Truth, he was turned

out of his place for not putting off his hat, and for saying Thou and Thee to them.

When we had waited beyond reasonable ground to expect any of them coming, we departed; and Alexander Parker being moved to go again to the town, where we had the meeting at the market-cross, I passed alone to Lieutenant Foster's quarters where I found several officers that were convinced. From thence I went up to the town, where I had left the other two Friends, and we went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bid Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the first two sentries; and the Lord's power came so over them that we passed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the streets to the market-place, by the main-guard out at the gate by the third sentry, and so clear out at the suburbs, and there came to an inn and set up our horses, it being the Seventh-day of the week. Now I saw and felt that we had ridden, as it were, against the cannon's mouth or the sword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all. Next day I went up to the meeting in the city, Friends having notice that I would attend it. There came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and His Son reigned in His glorious power. All was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had visited Friends, I came out of the city to my inn again; and next day, being the Second-day of the week, we set forward towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I spied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked what steeple-house it was, and was answered that it was Dunbar. When I came thither, and had put up at an inn, I walked to the steeple-house, having a friend or two with me. When we came into the yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there. I bade one of the friends that were with me to go to him and tell him that about the ninth hour next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God in scorn called Quakers; of which we desired he would give notice to the people of the town. He sent me word that they were to have a lecture there at the ninth hour; but that we might have our meeting there at the eighth hour, if we would. We concluded so, and desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly, in the morning, both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his

troopers came also, so that we had a large meeting; and a glorious one it was, the Lord's power being over all.

After some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but we being in the yard, most of the people stayed with us. Friends were so full, and their voices so high in the power of God, that the priest could do little in the steeple-house, but came quickly out again, stood a while, and then went his way. I opened to the people where they might find Christ Jesus, turned them to the light, which He had enlightned them withal, that in the light they might see Christ, that died for them, turn to Him, and know Him to be their Saviour and free Teacher. Perceiving the other Friends that were with me to be full of the power and word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord unto the people.

Towards the latter end of the meeting, which I had left a while, some professors began to jangle; whereupon I came again and stood up, and answered their questions, so that they seemed to be satisfied, and our meeting ended in the Lord's power, quiet and peaceable. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland; the truth and the power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and Teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet atop of Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick, cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness that is atop, and a briery, brambly nature, which is to be burnt up with God's Word, and plowed up with His spiritual plow, before God's Seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to the glory of the heavenly, glorious and omnipotent Lord God Almighty. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, and so through the country, visiting Friends, to Newcastle, where I had been once before. The Newcastle priests had written many books against us; and one Ledger,¹ an alderman of the town, was very envious against Truth and Friends. He and the priests had said, "The Quakers will not come into any great towns, but live in the Fells like butterflies." So I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to this Ledger, and several others of the aldermen, desiring to have a meeting amongst them, seeing they had written so many books against us, for we were now come, I told them, into their

¹ Thomas Ledgerd or Ledgard.

great town. But they would not allow we should have a meeting, neither would they be spoken to withal, save only this Ledger and one other. I queried had they not called Friends butterflies, and said we would not come into any great towns, and now we were come into their town they would not hear us, though they had printed books against us; "Who are the butterflies now?" said I. Then Ledger began to plead for the Sabbath-day; but I told him they kept markets and fairs on that which was the Sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day which the professed Christians now met on and call their Sabbath, is the first day of the week. As we could not have a public meeting among them, we got a little one among Friends and friendly people at Gateshead; where a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jesus. As I was passing by the market-place, the power of the Lord rose in me to warn them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. And not long after, all those priests of Newcastle and their profession were turned out when the King came in.

From Newcastle we travelled through the countries, having meetings and visiting Friends as we went, in Northumberland and Bishoprick.

Thence we came to Durham, where was a man come down from London to set up a college there to make ministers of Christ, as they said. I went, with some others, to reason with him, and to let him see that to teach men Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and the seven arts, which were all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. For the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks, that spake Greek as their mother-tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews, that spake Hebrew as their mother-tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans, who had the Latin and Italian, they persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek and Latin atop of Christ when he crucified Him. So he might see the many languages began at Babel, and they set them atop of Christ, the Word, when they crucified Him. And John the divine, who preached the Word that was in the beginning, said that the beast and the whore have power over tongues and languages, and they are as waters. Thus, I told him he might see the whore and beast have power over the tongues and the many languages which are in mystery Babylon; for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ Jesus set them over Him, when He was crucified by them;

but He is risen over them all, who was before them all. "Now," said I to this man, "dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these natural, confused languages, which sprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set atop of Christ, the Life, by a persecutor? Oh no!" So the man confessed to many of these things. Then we shewed him further that Christ made His ministers Himself, gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers. And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant (as to school-learning), preached Christ Jesus the Word which was in the beginning before Babel was. Paul also was made an apostle, not of man nor by man, neither received he the gospel from man, but from Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is His gospel, as it was at that day. When we had thus discoursed with the man, he became very loving and tender; and, after he had considered further of it, declined to set up his college.¹

From Durham we went to Anthony Pearson's,² who had a great desire that I should go with him to see Henry Vane, but I had little upon me to go at that time. He commended him to me and said Henry Vane had much enquired after me.

I went to Henry Draper's,² and there Henry Vane's chaplain came to me.

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He asked me whether I would come down to Raby Castle, and I told him I should say little to that. But the next day I went down, and they had me up into the chamber to Sir Henry Vane's wife,³ and after a while he came up, and one of New England's magistrates, and said he, "Is this George Fox? I thought he had been an elder man."

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He said to some Friends afterwards that if Anthony Pearson and some others had not been with me, he would have put me out of his house as a mad man. And so Friends that were with me stranged to see his darkness and impatience.

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We visited most of the meetings in those parts, till we came to Scalehouse, and so to Swarthmoor; the everlasting power and

¹ It is said that this college was suppressed owing to petitions against it from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

² Anthony Pearson lived at Rampshaw Hall, and Henry Draper at Headlam, both places in Co. Durham.

³ Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Ashby, Lincs.

arm of God carrying us through and preserving us. After I had visited Friends thereaways, I passed into Yorkshire again, and other counties.

At Nottingham I sent to Rice Jones, desiring him to make his people acquainted that I had something to say to them from the Lord. He came and told me many of them lived in the country, and he could not tell how to send to them. I told him he might acquaint those about the town of it, and send to as many in the country as he could. So the next day we met at the Castle, there being about fourscore people, to whom I declared the truth for about two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, so that they were not able to open their mouths in opposition. When I had done, one of them asked me a question, which I was loath to answer, for I saw it might lead to dispute, and I was unwilling to go into jangling, for some of the people were tender; yet I could not well tell how to escape it. Wherefore I answered the question, and was moved forthwith to speak to Rice Jones and lay before him that he had been the man that had scattered such as had been tender and some that had been convinced, and had been led out of many vanities of the world which he had formerly judged; but now he judged the power of God in them, and they, being simple, turned to him; and so he and they were turned to be vainer than the world: for many of his followers were become the greatest football players and wrestlers in the country. I told him it was the Serpent in him that had scattered and done hurt to such as were tender towards the Lord. Nevertheless, if he did wait in the fear of God, for the Seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, to bruise the Serpent's head in him that had scattered and done the hurt, he might come to gather them again by this heavenly Seed; though it would be a hard work for him to gather them again out of those vanities he had led them into. At this Rice Jones said, "Thou liest; it is not the Seed of the woman that bruises the Serpent's head." "No!" said I; "what is it then?" "I say it is the law," said he. "But," said I, "the Scripture, speaking of the Seed of the woman, saith, 'It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' Now, hath the law an heel," said I, "to be bruised?" Then Rice Jones and all his company were at a stand, and I was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him, and say, "This Seed, Jesus Christ, the Seed of the woman, which should bruise the Serpent's head, shall bruise thy head, and break you all to pieces." Thus did I leave on the heads of them the Seed, Christ; and not long

after he and his company scattered to pieces, several of whom came to be Friends, and stand to this day. For many of them had been convinced about eight years before, but had been led aside by this Rice Jones; for they denied the inward cross, the power of God, and so went into vanity.

It was about eight years since I had been formerly amongst them; in which time I was to pass over them and by them, seeing they had slighted the Lord's truth and power, and the visitation of His love unto them. But now I was moved to go to them again, and it was of great service, for many of them were brought to the Lord Jesus Christ, and were settled upon Him, sitting down under His teaching and feeding, where they were kept fresh and green; and the others, that would not be gathered to Him, soon after withered. This was that Rice Jones who some years before had said I was then at the highest, and should fall. But, poor man! he little thought how near his own fall was.

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CHAPTER XII

OLIVER CROMWELL

1658

AFTER some time we came to John Crook's house,¹ where a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many Friends from most parts of the nation came to it; so that the inns and towns around were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there was some disturbance by rude people that had run out from Truth, yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, which brought life and immortality to light in them, and shined over all.

I was moved to declare and open many things to those Friends who had received a part of the ministry, concerning the exercise of their spiritual gifts in the Church; which, being taken in writing by one that was present, was after this manner:

FRIENDS,—Take heed of destroying that which ye have begotten; for that which destroys, goes out, and is the cast-away. And though that be true, yea, and may be the pure truth which such a one speaks, yet if he doth not remain in that, and live in that in his own particular, but goes out, the same which he is gone out from, cometh over him. So that which calms and cools the spirits goes over the world, and brings to the Father, to inherit the life eternal: and reaches to the spirits in prison in all. Therefore in the living, immoveable word of the Lord God dwell, and in the renown thereof; and remain on the foundation that is pure, and that is sure: for whosoever goes out from the pure, and from that ministers, comes to an end, and doth not remain; though he may have had a time, and may have been serviceable for a time, while he lived in the thing.

Take heed of many words; what reacheth to the life, settles in the life. That which cometh from the life, and is received from God, reaches to the life, and settles others in the life: for the work is not now as it was at first; the work now is, to settle and stay in

¹ Probably Beckerings Park, near Ridgmount. The meeting took place at the close of Third Month (May), 1658.

the life. For as Friends have been led to minister in the power, and the power hath gone through, so that there hath grown an understanding among both the world and Friends: so Friends must be kept in the life which is pure, that with that they may answer the pure life of God in others. If Friends do not live in that life which they speak of, to answer the life in those they speak to, the other part steps in; and so there comes up an outward acquaintance, and such let that come over them.

But as every one is kept living in the life of God, over all that which is contrary, they are in their places; then they do not lay hands on any suddenly, which is the danger now; for if any one do, he may lose his discerning, and may lay hands on the wrong part, and so let the deceit come too near him; and the deceit will steal over, so that it will be a hard thing for him to get it down.

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So, Friends, this is the word of the Lord God to you all, be watchful and careful in all meetings ye come into; for where Friends are sitting together in silence, they are many times gathered into their own measures. When a man is come newly out of the world, from ministering to the world's people, he cometh out of the dirt; and then he had need take heed that he be not rash. For now, when he comes into a silent meeting, that is another state; then he must come, and feel his own spirit, how it is, when he comes to them that sit silent. If he be rash, they will judge him, that having been in the world, and amongst the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come in the heat of his spirit out of the world; whereas the others are still and cool; and his condition in that not being agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt, by begetting them out of the cool state into the heating state, if he be not in that which commands his own spirit, and gives him to know it.

Now there is a great danger too in travelling abroad in the world. The same power that moves any to go forth, is that which must keep them. For it is the greatest danger to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go in the power of the Lord; for then, he keeping in the power, is kept by it in his journey, and in his work; and it will enable him to answer the transgressed, and keep above the transgressor. So now every one feeling the danger to his own particular in travelling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord will be placed, and kept in. Though they that travel may have openings when they are abroad to minister to others, yet, for their own particular growth they must dwell in the life which doth open; and that will keep down that which would boast. For the minister comes into the death to that which is in the death and in prison, and so returns up again into the life, and into the power, and into the wisdom, to preserve him clean.

So that this is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel that ye stand in the presence of the Lord God: for every man's word shall be his burden; but the word of the Lord is pure, and answers the pure in every one. The word of the Lord is that which was in the beginning, and brings to the beginning. It is a hammer, to beat down the transgressor (not the transgressed), and as a fire to burn

up that which is contrary to it. So, Friends, come into that which is over all the spirits of the world, fathoms all the spirits of the world, and stands in the patience; with that, ye may see where others stand, and reach that which is of God in every one. Here is no strife, no contention, out of transgression; for he that goeth into strife, and into contention, is from the pure spirit. For where any goeth into contention, if anything hath been begotten by him before, then that contentious nature doth get atop, spoileth that which was begotten, and quencheth his own prophesying. So if that which would arise into strife be not subjected by the power in the particular, that is dangerous.

So if any have a moving to any place, and have spoken what they were moved of the Lord, let them return unto their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the Lord; so will ye be kept in the life—in the solid and seasoned spirit, and preach as well in life, as with words.

He that is kept in the life, hears God, and sees man's condition; and with that he answers the life in others, that hear God also; thus one Friend that is come into that comprehends the world. But that which Friends speak, they must live in; so may they expect that others may come into that which they speak, to live in the same. Then the water of life cometh in; then he that ministreth, drinketh himself, and giveth others to drink.

It is a mighty thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that. It is not as a customary preaching; but it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have declared the truth to the people, and they have received it, and are come into that which ye spake of, the uttering of many words, and long declarations out of the life, may beget them into a form. And if any should run on rashly into words again, without the savour of life, then they that are come into the thing that he spake of will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raised up before. So, Friends, ye must all come into the thing that is spoken in the openings of the heavenly life among you, and walk in the love of God, that ye may answer the thing spoken to.

And all Friends, be careful not to meddle with the powers of the earth; but keep out of all such things; and as ye keep in the Lamb's authority, and keep out of all vain jangling, ye will answer that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which is the end of the law.

More was then spoken to many of these particulars which was not taken at large as delivered.

After this meeting was over, and most of the Friends were gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there

came a party of horse with a constable to seize me. I heard them ask who was in the house, and somebody answered that I was there. They said I was the man they looked for; and went forthwith into the house, where they had many words with John Crook, and some few Friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them, that they never came into the garden to look for me, but went their way in a rage. When I came into the house Friends were very glad to see them so confounded, and that I had escaped them. Next day I passed thence, and after I had visited Friends in several places as I went, came to London, the Lord's power accompanying me, and bearing me up in His service.

And I was moved of the Lord to send for one or two out of a county to Swarthmoor, and to set up the men's meetings where they were not; and to settle that meeting at Skipton concerning the affairs of the Church which continued till 1660.

And at the first the North took six hundred of every sort of books that were printed; and that continued for many years till the truth was spread over the nation; and this was settled when we first began to print. And then, when the truth was spread, it was left to Friends' liberty for every county to send for what they liked from all parts of the nation. The North, at the first, bore all the charges of all the printing for several years, but when the Lord's truth spread over the nation and people came to be turned to Christ, then they were eased.

During the time I was at London, many services lay upon me; for it was a time of much suffering. I was moved to write to Oliver Cromwell, and lay before him the sufferings of Friends, both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also a talk about this time of making Cromwell king: whereupon I was moved to go to him. I met him in the Park and told him that they that would put him on a crown would take away his life. And he asked me what did I say. And I said again, they that sought to put him on a crown would take away his life; and I bid him mind the crown that was immortal. He thanked me, and bid me go to his house. Afterwards I was moved to write to him more fully concerning that matter.

About this time she they called the Lady Claypole¹ was very

¹ Elizabeth Cromwell (1629-1658), second daughter of the Protector, became Lady Claypoole.

sick and troubled in mind, and nothing could comfort her; which when I heard of, I was moved to write to her.

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When the paper was read to her, she said it settled and staid her mind for the present. Afterwards many Friends got copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it to distracted people, and it was made useful for the settling of the minds of several.

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Divers times, both in the time of the Long Parliament, and of O. Cromwell and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them their fasts were like unto Jezebel's; for commonly when they proclaimed fasts there was some mischief contrived against us. I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness.

Now it was a time of great suffering; and many Friends being in prisons, many other Friends were moved to go to the Parliament, to offer up themselves to lie in the same dungeons where their friends lay, that they that were in prison might go out, and not perish in the stinking jails. This we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads; which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring His wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favour could we find from those professing Parliaments; instead thereof they would rage, and sometimes threaten those Friends that thus attended them that they would whip them, and send them home. Then commonly soon after the Lord would turn them out, and send them home, who had not a heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned, for I was moved to write to them, in their several turns, as I did to the Long Parliament, unto whom I declared, before they were broken up, that thick darkness was coming over them all, even a day of darkness that should be felt.

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After this, as I was going out of town, having two Friends with me, when we were little more than a mile out of the City, there met us two troopers belonging to Colonel Hacker's regiment, who took me and the Friends that were with me, and

brought us back to the Mews, and there kept us prisoners. But the Lord's power was so over them, that they did not take us before any officer; but shortly after set us at liberty again.

The same day, taking boat, I went to Kingston, and thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park, and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston, and next day went to Hampton Court, to speak further with him. But when I came he was very sick, and Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.

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Before this time the Church-Faith (so called) was given forth, which was said to have been made at the Savoy in eleven days' time. I got a copy before it was published, and wrote an answer to it; and when their book of Church-Faith was sold up and down the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This angered some of the Parliament-men, so that one of them told me they must have me to Smithfield. I told him I was above their fires and feared them not.

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After some time I passed out of London, and had a meeting at Sergeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came, and some of considerable quality in the world. A glorious meeting it was, wherein the Scriptures were clearly opened, and Christ set above all, so that one man amongst them admired and said, "This man is a pearl."

There was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London, the rude people usually came out of several parishes round about, to abuse Friends, and often beat and bruised them exceedingly. One day they beat and abused about eighty Friends who went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds; and when they had besmeared them with dirt, they said they looked like witches. The next

First-day I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though I was then very weak. When I came there, I bid friends bring a table, and set it in the close, where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course the rude people came. Having a Bible in my hand, I shewed them their and their priests' and teachers' fruits: and the people became ashamed, and were quiet. I opened the Scriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith; I turned the people from darkness to the light of Christ and His Spirit, by which they might understand the Scriptures, see themselves and their sins, and know Christ Jesus to be their Saviour. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all to His glory.

It was a time of great sufferings; for besides the imprisonments (through which many died in prisons) our meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and have brought in drums beating, and kettles to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and among these the priests were as rude as any.

After a while I went to Reading, where I was under great sufferings and exercises, and in great travail of spirit for about ten weeks. For I saw there was great confusion and distraction amongst the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. And I saw how many were destroying the simplicity and betraying the truth. Much hypocrisy, deceit and strife were got uppermost in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their swords in one another's bowels. There had been a tenderness in many of them formerly, when they were low, but when they were got up, had killed and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others; so that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying Thou and Thee to them. They turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness; and many of them were like distracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hardned themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the Seed, Christ, both in themselves and others; till at last they fell a-biting and devouring one another, until they were consumed one of another; who had turned against and judged that which God had wrought in them, and shewed unto them. So shortly after God overthrew them and turned them upside down, and brought the King over them, who were often surmising that the Quakers met together to bring in King Charles,

whereas Friends did not concern themselves with the outward powers or government. But at last the Lord brought him in, and many of them when they saw he would be brought in, voted for bringing him in. So with heart and voice praise the name of the Lord, to whom it doth belong: who over all hath the supremacy, and who will rock the nations, for He is over them.

I had a sight and sense of the King's return a good while before, and so had some others. I wrote to Oliver several times, and let him know that while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. When several rash spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset House, that we might have meetings in it, I forbade them to do so; for I then foresaw the King's coming in again. Besides, there came a woman¹ to me in the Strand, who had a prophecy concerning King Charles's coming in, three years before he came; and she told me she must go to him to declare it. I told her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herself; for if it should be known that she went on such a message, they would look upon it to be treason; but she said she must go and tell him that he should be brought into England again. I saw her prophecy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon them in power; for they that had then got possession were so exceeding high, and such great persecution was acted by them who called themselves saints that they would take from Friends their copyhold lands because they could not swear in their Courts.

Sometimes when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwell he would not believe it. Wherefore Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the jails in England, and to get copies of Friends' commitments under the jailers' hands, that they might lay the weight of their sufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he would not give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was moved to take his cap from off his head, and to rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

Another Friend also, a woman, was moved to go to the Parliament (that was envious against Friends) with a pitcher in her hand, which she brake into pieces before them, and told them so should they be broken to pieces: which came to pass shortly after.

¹ Esther Biddle, of London.

Now while I was under that sore travail at Reading, by reason of grief and sorrow of mind, and the great exercise that was upon my spirit, my countenance was altered, and I looked poor and thin; and there came a company of unclean spirits to me, and told me the plagues of God were upon me. I told them it was the same spirit spake that in them that said so of Christ, when He was stricken and smitten; they hid their face from Him. But when I had travailed with the witness of God which they had quenched, and had got through with it and over all that hypocrisy which the outside professors were run into, and saw how that would be brought down, and turned under, and that life would rise over it, I came to have ease, and the light, power and spirit shined over all. And then having recovered, and got through my travails and sufferings, my body and face swelled when I came abroad into the air; and then the bad spirits said I was grown fat, and they envied at that also. So I saw that no condition or state would please that spirit of theirs. But the Lord preserved me by His power and spirit through and over all, and in His power I came to London again.

Now was there a great pother made about the image or effigy of Oliver Cromwell lying in state; men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image, after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord, I found, was highly offended.

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CHAPTER XIII

THROUGH MANY COUNTIES TO SWARTHMOOR

1659-1660

AFTER I had stayed some time in London, and had visited Friends' meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was set over all, I travelled into the countries again, passing through Essex and Suffolk into Norfolk, visiting Friends, till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Christmas. The mayor of Norwich, having got notice beforehand of the meeting I intended to have there, granted out a warrant to apprehend me. When I was come thither and heard of the warrant, I sent some Friends to the mayor to reason with him about it. His answer was the soldiers should not meet; and did we think to meet? He would have us to go out and meet without the city, for he said the town's-people were so rude that he could hardly order them, and he feared that our meeting would make tumults in the town. But our Friends told him we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace; for we could not but meet to worship God, as our manner was. So he became pretty moderate, and did not send his officers to the meeting. A large one it was, and abundance of rude people came with an intent to do mischief, but the Lord's power came over them so that they were chained by it, though several priests were there, and professors and Ranters.

Among the priests, one whose name was Townsend¹ stood up and cried, "Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting!" I bid him not burden himself with that which he could not make good; and I asked him what was our error and blasphemy; for I told him he should make good his words before I had done with him or be shamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I said I did believe there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchristian and uncivil in him to charge civil, godly people with an ungodly meeting. He said my error and blasphemy was in that I said that people must wait upon God by His power and spirit, and feel His presence when they

¹ Sampson Townsend, an anti-Quaker writer.

did not speak words. I asked him then whether the apostles and holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spake forth the Scripture, and before it was written. He replied, "Yes, David and the prophets heard God before they penned the Scriptures, and felt His presence in silence before they spake them forth." Then said I, "All people take notice; he said this was error and blasphemy in me to say these words; and now he hath confessed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witnessed." So I shewed them that as the holy men of God who gave forth the Scriptures as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, did hear and learn of God before they spake them forth, so must they all hearken and hear what the Spirit saith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the Scriptures. "Oh!" said the priest, "this is not that George Fox I would speak withal; this is a subtle man," said he. So the Lord's power came over all, and the rude people were made moderate, and were reached by it; and some professors that were there called to the priests, saying, "Prove the blasphemy and errors which ye have charged them with; ye have spoken much against them behind their backs, but nothing ye can prove now to their faces." But the priest began to get away; whereupon I told him we had many things to charge him withal, therefore let him set a time and place to answer them; which he did and went his way.

After I had travelled through many countries in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding the people in some places were very rude, I returned to London, when General Monk was come up thither, and the gates and posts of the city were pulling down. Long before this I had a vision, wherein I saw the city lie in heaps and the gates down; and it was then represented to me, just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps, when it was burned.

Being now clear of the City of London, I found my spirit drawn to visit Friends in the western parts of England.

At Dorchester we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, which many soldiers attended, and were pretty civil. But the constables and officers of the town came, under pretence

to look for a Jesuit, whose head was shaved; and they would have all put off their hats, or they would take them off to look for the Jesuit's shaven crown. So they took off my hat (for I was the man they aimed at), and looked very narrowly, but not finding any bald or shaven place on my head they went away with shame; and the soldiers and other sober people were greatly offended with them. But it was of good service for the Lord, and all things wrought together for good; for it affected the people; and after the officers were gone we had a fine meeting, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God.

Thence we passed into Somersetshire, where the Presbyterians and other professors were very wicked, and often disturbed Friends' meetings. One time especially there was a very wicked man, whom they got to come to the meeting; this man put a bear's skin on his back, and undertook with that to play pranks in the Quakers' general meeting. Accordingly, setting himself just opposite to the Friend that was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, having his bear's skin on his back, and so made sport to his wicked followers, and caused a great disturbance in the meeting. And as he returned from the meeting there was a bull-baiting in the way which he stayed to see; and coming within the bull's reach, he struck his horn under the man's chin into his throat, and struck his tongue out of his mouth, so that it hung lolling out, as he had used it before in derision in the meeting. And the bull's horn running up into the man's head, he swung him about upon his horn. Thus he that came to do mischief amongst God's people was mischiefed himself.

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While I was in Cornwall there were great shipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such a time both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives; and in some places they call shipwrecks "God's grace." These things troubled me; it grieved my spirit to hear of such unchristian actions. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper, and send it to all the parishes, priests, and magistrates, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them that, if they could assist to save people's lives and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein; and consider, if it had been their own condition they would

judge it hard if they should be upon a wreck and people should strive to get what they could get from them, and not matter their lives.

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This paper had good service among the people; and Friends have endeavoured much to save the lives of the men in times of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some that have suffered shipwreck have been almost dead and starved, some Friends have taken them to their houses to succour and recover them; which is an act to be practised by all true Christians.

We passed through the country, visiting Friends, till we came to Bristol.

I entered Bristol on the Seventh-day of the week. The day before the soldiers came with their muskets into the meeting and were exceeding rude, beating and striking Friends with them, and drove them out of the Orchard in a great rage, threatning what they would do if Friends came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had, it seems, combined together to make a disturbance amongst Friends. When Friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatned by the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly the soldiers had been the day before, I sent for four Friends and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and request them, seeing he and they had broken up our meetings, to let Friends have the town-hall to meet in; and for the use of it Friends would give them twenty pounds a-year, to be distributed amongst the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, Friends would not meet in it, but only on the First-days. These Friends were astonished at this, and said the mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad. I said, "Nay; for this would be a considerable benefit to the poor." And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go. At last they consented and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor, it came so over him that he said for his part he could consent to it, but he was but one: and he told Friends of another great hall they might have, but that they did not accept, it being inconvenient. So Friends came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I spake to them to go also to the colonel that commanded the soldiers, and lay before him the

rude carriage of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst naked,¹ innocent people, who were waiting upon and worshipping the Lord; but I could not get them to go to him.

Next morning, being the First-day, we went to the meeting in the Orchard, where the soldiers had so lately been so rude. After I had declared the truth a great while in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The innkeepers had made some of them drunk; and one had bound himself with an oath to cut down and kill the man that spake. He came pressing in through all the crowd of people to within two yards of me, and stopped at those four Friends who should have gone to the colonel as I would have had them, and began jangling with them. Suddenly I saw his sword was put up and gone; for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest. We had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt amongst us. On the day following, the four Friends went and spake with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers, and cut and slashed some of them before the Friends' faces; which, when I heard of, I blamed the Friends for letting him do so, and also that they did not go on the Seventh-day, as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. And thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting there was settled in peace for a good while after without disturbance.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was judged were divers thousands; for besides Friends from many parts thereabouts, some of the Baptists and Independents, with their teachers, came to it, and many of the sober people of Bristol; insomuch that the people that stayed behind said the city looked naked, so many were gone out of it to this meeting. It was very quiet and many glorious truths were opened to the people.

After the meeting at Edward Pyot's I passed to Gloucester, visiting meetings. In Gloucester we had a peaceable meeting though the town was very rude and divided; for one part of the soldiers were for the King, and another for the Parliament. As I passed out of the town over the bridge, Edward Pyot being with me, the soldiers there said they were for the King;

¹ That is, unarmed.

but after we were past them, and they understood it was I, they were in a great rage that I had escaped them, and said that had they known it had been I, they would have shot me with hail-shot, rather than I should have escaped them. But the Lord prevented their devilish design.

We passed thence to Tewkesbury, and so to Worcester, visiting Friends in their meetings as we went. And in all my time I never saw the like drunkenness as in the towns, for they had been choosing Parliament-men. At Worcester the Lord's truth was set over all, people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced. Yet great fears were in many people, and a looking for the King's coming in, and all things being altered. They would ask me what I thought of times and things. I told them the Lord's power was over all, and His light shined over all; that fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not been faithful to God, and on our persecutors. And whether the King came in or not, all would be well to them that loved the Lord and were faithful to Him. Therefore I bid all Friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in His power that was over all.

From Worcester I went to Drayton, in Leicestershire, to visit my relations, and passing into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Balby in Yorkshire, where our Yearly Meeting at that time was held in a great orchard of John Killam's, where it was supposed some thousands of people and Friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard that a troop of horse was sent from York to break up our meeting, and that the militia, newly raised, was to join them. I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool, and after I had spoken some time, two trumpeters came up, sounding their trumpets near me, and the captain of the troop cried, "Divide to the right and left, and make way"; then they rode up to me. I was declaring the everlasting truth, and word of life, in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bid me come down for he was come to disperse our meeting. After some time I told him they all knew we were a peaceable people, and used to have such great meetings; but if he questioned that we met in a hostile way, I desired him to make search amongst us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer. He told me he must see us dispersed, for he came all night on purpose to disperse us. I asked him what honour it would be to him to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many naked¹

¹ That is, unarmed.

men and women as there were. If he would be still and quiet, our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours; and when it was done, as we came peaceably together, so we should part; for he might perceive the meeting was so large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He said he could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went. I desired him then, if he himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay, and see the order and peaceableness of our meeting. He said he would permit us an hour's time; and left half a dozen soldiers with us. Then he went away with his troop, and Friends of the house gave the soldiers that stayed, and their horses, some meat. When the captain was gone, the soldiers that were left told us we might stay till night if we would. But we stayed but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting; for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us; the Seed, Christ, was set over all, and Friends were built upon Him, the foundation, and settled under His glorious, heavenly teaching.

After the meeting, Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. Many of the militia-soldiers stayed also, and were much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting, and cursed them. It was reported that they intended to do us some mischief that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant to us, in not joining with them as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed.

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From Balby I passed to Skipton, where there was a General Meeting of men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the Church. To this Meeting came some Friends out of most parts of the nation; for it was about business relating to the Church both in this nation and beyond the seas.

Several years before, when I was in the North, I was moved to recommend the setting up of this Meeting for that service; for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to the law, and they understood not how to help themselves or where to seek redress. But after this Meeting was set up, several Friends who had

been magistrates, and others that understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges or Parliament. This Meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw their books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond the seas, and provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, etc., the justices and officers confessed we did their work, and passed away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends' practice. Sometimes there would come two hundred of the world's poor people, and wait there till the Meeting was done (for all the country knew we met about the poor), and after the Meeting Friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of these poor people a penny loaf, how many soever there were of them; for we were taught to "do good unto all; though especially to the household of faith."

After this meeting I visited Friends in their meetings, till I came to Lancaster; whence I went to Robert Widders's.

From Robert Widders's I went next day to Swarthmoor.

CHAPTER XIV

LANCASTER AND LONDON

1660

I HAD not been long at Swarthmoor before Henry Porter, a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable and three petty constables to apprehend me, I feeling something of darkness in the house before they came; and being in the parlour with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, some of her servants came and told her there were some come to search the house for arms; and they went up into the chambers under that pretence. It came upon me to go out; and as I was going by some of them I spake to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name; and then they laid hold on me, saying I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverston. They kept me all night at the constable's house and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me; some of whom sate in the chimney for fear I should go up it, the Lord's power so terrified them. They were very rude and uncivil, and would neither suffer me to speak to Friends, nor suffer them to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust Friends out, and kept a strong guard upon me.

I sate up all night, and next morning, about six, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off my spurs, took my knife out of my pocket, and hastned me away along the town with a party of horse and abundance of people, not suffering me to stay till my own horse came down. When I was gone about a quarter of a mile with them, some Friends, with Margaret Fell and her children, came towards me; and then a great party of horse gathered about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, "Will they rescue him? Will they rescue him?" Whereupon I said unto them, "Here is my hair, here is my back, here are my cheeks; strike on!" With these words their heat was a little assuaged. Then they brought a little horse, and two of them took up one of my legs and put my foot in the stirrup, and two or three lifting over my other leg, set me upon it behind the saddle, and so led the horse by the halter; but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come a pretty way out of the town, they beat the little

horse, and made him kick; whereupon I slipped off him, and told them they should not abuse the creature. They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet and set me upon the same horse, behind the saddle again. By this time my own horse was come to us, so they let me get upon my own, through the persuasion of some of their own company. When I was come over the Sands, I told them I heard I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before; but the constables cried no, I should not. Then they led me to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had; but as they led me, I was moved to sing praises to the Lord, in His triumphing power over all.

When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them; and they cried, "Look at his eyes!" After a while I spake to them; and then they were pretty sober. Then came a young man and took me to his house; and after a little time the officers had me to Major Porter's, the justice who had sent forth the warrant against me; he had several others with him. When I came in I said, "Peace be amongst you." Porter asked me why I came down into the country that troublesome time. I told him, "To visit my brethren." "But," said he, "you have great meetings up and down." I told him though we had, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people. He said we saw the devil in people's faces. I told him, "If I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish, heady man, I could not say I saw the Spirit of God in him." And I asked him if he could see the Spirit of God. He said we cried against their ministers. I told him that while we were as Saul, sitting under the priests, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called pestilent fellows, nor makers of sects; but when we were come to exercise our consciences towards God and man, we were called pestilent fellows, as Paul was. He said we could express ourselves well enough, and he would not dispute with me; but he would restrain me. I desired to know for what, and by whose order he sent his warrant for me; and I complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers, after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. He would not take notice of that, but told me he had an order, but would not let me see it; for he would not reveal the King's secrets; "and, besides, a prisoner," he said, "was not to see for what he was committed." I told him that was not reason, for how should he make his

defence then. I said, "I ought to have a copy of it"; but he said, "There was a judge once that fined a man for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; and," said he, "I have an old clerk, though I am a young justice." Then he called to his clerk, saying, "Is it not ready yet? Bring it," meaning the mittimus; but it not being ready, he said to me I was a disturber of the nation. I told him I had been a blessing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the Spirit of God in all consciences would answer it.

Then he charged me as an enemy to the King; that I endeavoured to raise a new war, and imbrue the nation in blood again. I told him I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things, and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the jailer was sent for and commanded to take and put me into the Dark-house, and to let none come at me; but keep me there a close prisoner, till I should be delivered by the King or Parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was; "for I hear," said he, "that he has a good horse; have ye brought it?" I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him. As they took me to the jail, the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it him; but I told him nay, he had not been so civil to me. So they put me into the jail, and the under-jailer, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceedingly rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door. Many people came to look at me, some in great rage and very uncivil and rude.

Being now a close prisoner in the common jail at Lancaster, I desired Thomas Cummins and Thomas Green to go to the jailer, and desire of him a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I stood committed for. They went; and the jailer answered he could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for so doing; but he gave them liberty to read it over. To the best of their remembrance the matters therein charged against me were, that I was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the King, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that together with others of my fanatic opinion, I had of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep me in safe custody, until I should be released by order of the King or Parliament. When I had thus

got the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus I wrote a plain answer, in vindication of my innocency in each particular.

Upon my being taken and forcibly carried away from Margaret Fell's house, and charged with things of so high a nature, she was concerned, looking upon it to be an injury offered to herself. Whereupon she determined to go to London, to speak with the King about my being taken, and to shew him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received. When Justice Porter heard of this he vapoured that he would go and meet her in the Gap. But when he came before the King, having been a zealous man for the Parliament against the King, several of the courtiers spake to him concerning his plundering their houses; so that he quickly had enough of the Court, and soon returned into the country.

About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me; and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the King about it. Her father,¹ who had been sheriff of Bristol, had been hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring in the King; on which consideration she had some hopes the King might hear her on my behalf. Accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the King together, who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly. And her request to him being to send for me up, and hear the cause himself, he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for bringing me up. But when they came to the secretary for the order, he, being no friend to us, said it was not in his power; he must act according to law, and I must be brought up by an *habeas corpus* before the judges. So he wrote to the judge of the King's Bench, signifying that it was the King's pleasure that I should be sent up by an *habeas corpus*. Accordingly a writ was sent down, and delivered to the sheriff; but because it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaster, the sheriff put it off to him; on the other hand, the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but said the sheriff must do that. At length both chancellor and sheriff were got together; but being both enemies to Truth, they sought occasion for delay, and found, they said, an error in the writ, which was that, being directed to the chancellor, it stated,

¹ Robert Yeamans, sheriff in 1641-2.

“George Fox in prison under *your* custody,” whereas the prison I was in was not, they said, in the chancellor’s custody, but in the sheriff’s; so the word *your* should have been *his*. On this they returned the writ to London, only to have that one word altered. When it was altered and brought down again, the sheriff refused to carry me up, unless I would seal a writing to him, and become bound and pay for the sealing and the charge of carrying me up; which I refused, telling them I would not seal anything to them, nor be bound. So the matter rested a while, and I continued in prison.

Meanwhile the Assize came on; but as there was a writ for removing me up, I was not brought before the judge. At the Assize many people came to see me; and I was moved to speak out of the jail window to them, and shew them how uncertain their religion was; and that every sort, when uppermost, had persecuted the rest.

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It was long before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London, unless I would seal a bond to him and bear their charges; which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me, and first concluded to send up a party of horse with me. I told them if I were such a man as they had represented me to be, they had need send a troop or two of horse to guard me. When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the jailer and some bailiffs. But, upon further consideration, they found that would be a great charge to them also, and therefore sent for me to the jailer’s house, and told me if I would put in bail that I would be in London such a day of the Term, I should have leave to go up with some of my own friends. I told them I would neither put in bail, nor give one piece of silver to the jailer; for I was an innocent man, and they had imprisoned me wrongfully, and laid a false charge upon me. Nevertheless, I said if they would let me go up with one or two of my friends to bear me company, I might go up, and be in London such a day, if the Lord should permit; and if they desired it, I, or any of my friends that went with me, would carry up their charge against myself. At last, when they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff yielded, consenting that I should come up with some of my friends, without any other engagement than my word, to appear before the judges at London, such a day of the Term if the Lord should permit.

Whereupon I was let out of prison, and travelling on, visiting

Friends' meetings, in about three weeks of my coming out of prison, I reached London.

When we came to Charing-Cross, multitudes of people were gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of the old King's judges, who had been hanged, drawn, and quartered.

I went next morning to Judge Mallet's¹ chamber, who was putting on his red gown to go sit upon some more of the King's judges. He was very peevish and froward, and said I might come another time. I went again to his chamber, when Judge Foster² was with him, who was called the Lord Chief Justice of England. With me was one called Esquire Marsh,³ who was one of the bed-chamber to the King. When we had delivered to the judges the charge that was against me, and they had read to those words that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, &c., they struck their hands on the table. Whereupon I told them I was the man whom that charge was against, but I was as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me without any guard. As yet they had not minded my hat, but now seeing it on, they said, "What! do you stand with your hat on?" I told them I did not so in contempt of them. They then commanded it to be taken off; and when they called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, "You must take this man and secure him; but let him have a chamber, and not put him amongst the prisoners." "My Lord," said the marshal, "I have no chamber to put him into; my house is so full I cannot tell where to provide a room for him, but amongst the prisoners." "Nay," said the judge, "you must not put him amongst the prisoners." But when he still answered he had no other place to put me in, Judge Foster said to me, "Will you appear to-morrow about ten o'clock at the King's Bench Bar in Westminster Hall?" I said, "Yes, if the Lord give me strength." Then said Judge Foster to the other judge, "If he says yes and promises it, you may take his word"; so I was dismissed.

Next day I appeared at the King's Bench Bar at the hour appointed, Esquire Marsh going with me. I was brought into the middle of the Court; and as soon as I came in, I was moved to look round, and turning to the people, said, "Peace be among you"; and the power of the Lord sprang over the Court. The charge against me was read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving; and the Lord's mercy was to

¹ Sir Thomas Mallett (1582-1665). ² Sir Robert Foster (1589-1663).

³ Richard March (c. 1589-1671/2).

them. But when they came to that part which said that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the King, &c., they lifted up their hands. Then, stretching out my arms, I said, "I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war-postures. And," said I, "do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself, or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded with a troop or two of horse. But the sheriff and magistrates of Lancashire thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, nearly two hundred miles, without any guard at all; which, ye may be sure, they would not have done had they looked upon me to be such a man." Then the judge asked me whether it should be filed or what I would do with it. I answered, "Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter, therefore do with it what ye will; for I am the man these charges are against, and here ye see I have brought them up myself; do ye what ye will with them, I leave it to you." Then Judge Twisden¹ beginning to speak some angry words, I appealed to Judge Foster and Judge Mallet, who had heard me over-night. Whereupon they said they did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me. Then stood up Esquire Marsh and told the judges it was the King's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me. They asked me whether I would put it to the King and Council. I said, "Yes, with a good will." Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he made to the writ of *habeas corpus*, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus, to the King, that he might see for what I was committed.

On consideration of the whole matter, the King, being satisfied of my innocency, commanded his secretary to send an order to Judge Mallet for my release.

Thus, after being a prisoner more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the King's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency.

¹ Sir Thomas Twisden (1602-1683).

CHAPTER XV

WHEN THE KING CAME IN

1660-1662

WHEN it was known I was discharged from Lancaster Castle, a company of envious, wicked spirits were troubled, and terror took hold of Justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife, and children. Indeed I was pressed by some in authority to make him and the rest examples; but I said I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord forgave them I should not trouble myself with them.

Now did I see the end of the travail which I had had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and His blessed truth, life and light shined over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet; and many flocked in unto the truth. Richard Hubberthorne had been with the King, who said none should molest us so long as we lived peaceably, and promised this to us upon the word of a King, telling him we might make use of his promise. Some Friends also were admitted into the House of Lords, and had liberty to declare their reasons why they could not pay tithes, swear, or go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship, and they heard them moderately, which in the other power's days we could never have so much favour. And there being about seven hundred Friends in prison in the nation, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempts, when the King came in he set them all at liberty. And though O. C. at Dunbar fight had promised to the Lord that if He gave him the victory over his enemies he would take away tithes, &c., or else let him be rolled into his grave with infamy; but when the Lord had given him victory and he came to be chief, he confirmed the former laws that if people did not set forth their tithes they should pay treble, and this to be executed by two justices of peace in the country, upon the oath of two witnesses.

But when the King came in, they took him up and hanged him; and buried him under Tyburn, where he was rolled into

his grave with infamy. And when I saw him hanging there, I saw his word justly come upon him. There seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the Government to grant Friends liberty, because they were sensible that we had suffered as well as they under the former powers. But still, when anything was going forward in order thereto, some dirty spirits or other, that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when, suddenly, that wicked attempt of the Fifth-monarchy people broke out, and put the City and nation in an uproar. This was on a First-day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's truth shined over all, and His power was exalted above all; but about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, "Arm! Arm!" I got up out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and landing at Whitehall-stairs, walked through Whitehall. They looked strangely at me there, but I passed through them, and went to Pall-Mall, where divers Friends came to me, though it had now become dangerous passing the streets; for by this time the City and suburbs were up in arms, and exceeding rude the people and soldiers were. Great mischief was done in the City this week; and when the next First-day came, as Friends went to their meetings many were taken prisoners.

I stayed at Pall-Mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on the Seventh-day night, a company of troopers came and knocked at the door. The maid letting them in, they rushed into the house and laid hold of me; and there being amongst them one that had served under the Parliament, he clapped his hand to my pocket, and asked whether I had any pistols. I told him he knew I did not carry pistols, why therefore ask such a question of me, whom he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of the soldiers ran into the chambers, and there found in bed Esquire Marsh, who, though he was one of the King's bed-chamber, out of his love to me came and lodged where I did. When they came down again, they said, "Why should we take this man away with us? We will let him alone." "Oh," said the Parliament soldier, "he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader." Upon this the soldiers were taking me away, but Richard Marsh hearing of it, sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forthcoming in the morning.

In the morning before they could fetch me, and before the

meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot soldiers to the house, and one of them drawing his sword, held it over my head. I asked him why he drew his sword at a naked man, at which his fellows, being ashamed, bid him put up his sword. These foot soldiers took me away to Whitehall before the troopers came for me. As I was going out, several Friends were coming in to the meeting, whose boldness and cheerfulness I commended, and encouraged them to persevere therein. When I was brought to Whitehall, the soldiers and people were exceeding rude, yet I declared Truth to them; but some great persons coming by, who were very full of envy, "What," said they, "do ye let him preach? Put him into such a place, where he may not stir." So into that place they put me, and the soldiers watched over me. I told them though they could confine my body and shut that up, yet they could not stop the Word of Life. Some came and asked me what I was. I told them, "A preacher of righteousness." After I had been kept there two or three hours, Richard Marsh spake to Lord Gerard, and he came and bid them set me at liberty. The marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him I could not give him any, neither was it our practice; and asked him how he could demand fees of me, who was innocent. Nevertheless, in my own power, I would give him two pence to make him and the soldiers drink, but they shouted at that and took it disdainfully. So I told them if they would not accept it, choose them, for I should give them no fees.

Then I went through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and after I had declared Truth to the soldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall, to an inn, where many Friends were at that time prisoners under a guard. I desired those colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends, that were prisoners there; but they would not. Then I stepped to the sentry, and desired him to let me go up; and he did so. While I was there, the soldiers went to Pall-Mall again to search for me there; but not finding me, they turned towards the inn, and bid all come out that were not prisoners; so they went out. But I asked the soldiers that were within whether I might not stay there a while with my friends. They said, "Yes." I stayed, and so escaped their hands again. Towards night I went to Pall-Mall to see how it was with the Friends there; and after I had stayed a while, I went up into the City.

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Margaret Fell went to the King, and told him what sad work there was in the City and nation, and shewed him we were an innocent, peaceable people, and that we must keep our meetings as heretofore, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that no innocent blood might be shed. The prisons were now everywhere filled with Friends, and others, in the City and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters that none could pass unsearched. Yet we heard of several thousands of our Friends being cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the King and Council. Next week we had an account of several thousands more being cast into prison; and she went and laid them also before the King and Council. They wondred how we could have such intelligence, having given strict charge for the intercepting of all letters: but the Lord so ordered it that we had an account, notwithstanding all their stoppings.

Having lost a former declaration in the press, we hastily drew up another against plots and fighting, got it printed, and sent some copies to the King and Council; others were sold in the streets and at the Exchange.

This declaration somewhat cleared the dark air that was over the City and country. And soon after the King gave forth a proclamation that no soldiers should search any house without a constable. But the jails were still full, many thousands of Friends being in prison; which mischief was occasioned by the wicked rising of the Fifth-monarchy-men. But when those that were taken came to be executed, they did us the justice to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. After that, the King being continually importuned thereunto, issued a declaration that Friends should be set at liberty without paying fees. But great labour, travail and pains were taken before this was obtained; for Thomas Moore and Margaret Fell went often to the King about it.

Although those Friends that had been imprisoned on the rising of the Monarchy-men were set at liberty, meetings were much disturbed, and great sufferings Friends underwent. For besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows

and rude people often came in. There came one time, when I was at Pall-Mall, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen and rude fellows; the meeting was over before they came, and I was gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them say he would kill all the Quakers. I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him. I told him, "The law said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; but thou threatnest to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But," said I, "here is gospel for thee: here is my hair, here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder," turning it to him. This came so over him, that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them what I was in words, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador, who had stood without, came in: for he said that Irish colonel was such a desperate man that he durst not come in with him for fear he should do us some mischief; but Truth came over him, and he carried himself lovingly towards us, as also did the ambassador; for the Lord's power was over them all.

Before this time we received account from New England that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies upon pain of death in case they returned; and that several Friends, having been so banished, and returning, were taken, and actually hanged, and that many more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence being executed upon them. When those were put to death, I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings, as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck; though we had not at that time heard of it.

But as soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the King, and told him there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all. To which the King replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward Burrough said, "Then do it speedily, for we do not know how many may soon be put to death." The King answered, "As speedily as ye will. Call," said he to some present, "the secretary, and I will do it presently."¹ The secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the King to desire the matter might be expedited, the King said he had no occasion at present to

¹ That is, at once.

send a ship thither, but if we would send one, we might do it as soon as we chose. Edward Burrough then asked the King if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker, to carry the mandamus to New England. He said, "Yes, to whom ye will." Whereupon E. B. named Samuel Shattock, as I remember, who being an inhabitant of New England, was banished by their law, to be hanged if he came again; and to him the deputation was granted. Then we sent for Ralph Goldsmith, an honest Friend, who was master of a good ship, and agreed with him for three hundred pounds, goods or no goods, to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and, with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks arrived before the town of Boston, in New England, upon a First-day morning, called Sunday. Many passengers went with him, both of New and Old England, Friends, whom the Lord moved to go to bear testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age in their persecutions.

The townsmen at Boston seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board, and asked for the captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters. He said, "Yes." They asked if he would deliver them. He said, "No, not to-day." So they went on shore, and reported there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who, they knew, was, by their law, to be put to death, for coming again after banishment; but they knew not his errand nor his authority.

So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to land, next morning Samuel Shattock, the King's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the door of the governor, John Endicott, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the King of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. They were then admitted, and the governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he laid off his hat, and looked upon them. Then going out, he bid the Friends follow him. He went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation, came out to the Friends, and said, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands." After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore; and presently the noise of the business

flew about the town, and the Friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were thus met, in came a poor Friend who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praises to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory and the honour; for He only is able to deliver and to save, and to support all that sincerely put their trust in Him.

Before this, while I was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, the book called *The Battledore*¹ was published, which was written to shew that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person; and You to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken from the Scriptures, and books of teaching, in about thirty languages. J. Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in compiling it, which I set them upon; and some things I added to it. When it was finished, copies were presented to the King and his Council, to the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one each; and many purchased them.

Among the exercises and troubles that Friends had from without, one was regarding Friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. This year² there was a cause tried at the Assize at Nottingham concerning one. The case was thus: Some years before, two Friends were joined together in marriage amongst Friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another Friend married the widow. After that, a man that was near of kin to her former husband brought his action against the Friend that had last married her, endeavouring to dispossess them and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband. To effect this he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alleging the

¹ *A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural, etc.* 1660.

² The trial took place in 1661.

marriage was not according to law. In opening the cause, the plaintiff's counsel did use unseemly words concerning Friends, saying that they went together like brute beasts, with other ill expressions. After the counsels on both sides had pleaded, the judge (viz., Judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to the jury, telling them that there was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam; and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. As for the Quakers, he said he did not know their opinions, but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir. And the better to satisfy the jury, he brought them a case to this purpose: A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question; and (as the judge said) all the bishops at that time concluded it to be a lawful marriage. Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the Friend's child against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.

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I mentioned before,¹ that in the year 1650 I was kept prisoner six months in the House of Correction at Derby, and that the keeper of the prison, a cruel man, and one that had dealt very wickedly towards me, was smitten in himself, the plagues and terrors of the Lord falling upon him because thereof. This man, being afterwards convinced of Truth, wrote me the following letter:

DEAR FRIEND,—Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition, remembering, that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the jailer's conversion by the apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation! Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have

¹ See page 33.

taken all from me, and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting the time when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out unto death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian Friends with thee, in haste, I rest, Thine in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS SHARMAN.

Derby, the 22nd of the 4th Month, 1662.

After I had made some stay in London, and cleared myself of those services that at that time lay upon me there, I went into the country, having with me Alexander Parker and John Stubbs. We travelled through the country, visiting Friends' meetings, till we came to Bristol. There we understood the officers were likely to come and break up the meeting. Yet on the First-day we went to the meeting at Broadmead, and Alexander Parker standing up first, while he was speaking the officers came and took him away. After he was gone, I stood up and declared the everlasting truth of the Lord God in His eternal power, which came over all; the meeting was quiet the rest of the time, and brake up peaceably. I tarried till the First-day following, visiting Friends and being visited by them.

On the First-day morning several Friends came to Edward Pyot's house (where I lay the night before), and used great endeavours to persuade me not to go to the meeting that day, for the magistrates, they said, had threatened to take me, and had raised the trained bands. I wished them to go to the meeting, not telling them what I intended to do; but I told Edward Pyot I intended to go, and he sent his son to shew me the way from his house by the fields. As I went I met divers Friends who were coming to me to prevent my going, and did what they could to stop me. "Alack!" said Friends. "What! wilt thou go into the dragon's mouth?" I put them by and went on. When I came to the meeting, Margaret Thomas was speaking; and when she had done I stood up. I saw a concern and fear upon Friends for me; but the power of the Lord in which I declared soon struck the fear out of them; life sprang, and a glorious heavenly meeting we had. After I had cleared myself of what was upon me from the Lord to the meeting, I was moved to pray; and after that to stand up again, and tell Friends now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver. A very large meeting this was, and very hot;

but Truth was over all, the life was exalted, which carried through all, and the meeting brake up in peace. The officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time, so that our meeting was ended before they came. But I understood afterwards they were in a great rage because they had missed me; for they were heard to say one to another before, "I'll warrant we shall have him"; but the Lord prevented them.

Having been two First-days together at the meeting at Broadmead, and feeling my spirit clear of Bristol, I passed through the country, visiting Friends, till I came to London, having great meetings amongst Friends as I went.

CHAPTER XVI

AMONG THE SHIRES

1662-1663

BEING drawn in spirit to visit Friends northward, I travelled as far as Leicestershire, having meetings amongst Friends as I went.

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At Swannington some Friends came to me, but they went away towards night, leaving me at a Friend's house. At night, as I was sitting in the hall, speaking to a widow woman and her daughter, there came one called Lord Beaumont¹ with a company of soldiers, who, slapping their swords on the door, rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands, crying, "Put out the candles and make fast the doors." Then they seized upon the Friends in the house, and asked if there were no more about the house. The Friends told them there was one man more in the hall. There were some Friends out of Derbyshire, one of whom was named Thomas Fauks; and this Lord Beaumont, after he had asked all their names, bid his man set down that man's name Thomas Fox; but the Friend said his name was not Fox but Fauks. In the meantime some of the soldiers came, and brought me in to him. He asked me my name; I told him my name was George Fox, and that I was well known by that name. "Ay," said he, "you are known all the world over." I said, "I was known for no hurt, but for good." Then he put his hands into my pockets to search them, and plucked out my comb-case, and afterwards commanded one of his officers to search further for letters, as he pretended. I told him I was no letter-carrier, and asked him why he came amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols, without a constable, contrary to the King's proclamation and to the late Act. For he could not say there was a meeting, I being only talking with a poor widow woman and her daughter. By reasoning thus with them, he came somewhat down; yet sending for the constables, he

¹ Thomas, third Viscount Beaumont, of Swords, in the peerage of Ireland. The incident occurred 2nd September, 1662.

gave them charge of us, and to bring us before him next morning. Accordingly the constables set a watch of the town's-people upon us that night, and had us next morning to his house, about a mile from Swannington.

When we came before him, he told us we met contrary to the Act. I desired him to shew us the Act. "Why," says he, "you have it in your pocket." I told him he did not find us in a meeting. Then he asked us whether we would take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. I told him I never took any oath in my life, nor engagement, nor covenant. Yet still he would force the oath upon us. I desired him to shew us the oath, that we might see whether we were the persons it was to be tendered to, and whether it was not for the discovery of Popish recusants. At length he brought forth a little book; but we called for the statute-book. He would not shew us that, but caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned that we were to have had a meeting. With this he delivered us to the constables to convey us to Leicester jail. But when they had brought us back to Swannington, being harvest time it was hard to get anybody to go with us, for the people were loath to go with their neighbours to prison, especially in such a busy time. They would have given us our mittimus to carry it ourselves to the jail; for it had been usual for constables to give Friends their own mittimuses (for they durst trust Friends) and they have gone themselves with them to the jailer. But we told them, though our Friends had sometimes done so, yet we would not take this mittimus, but some of them should go with us to the jail. At last they hired a poor labouring man to go with us, who was loath to go though hired. So we rode to Leicester, being five in number; some carried their Bibles open in their hands, declaring the truth to the people as we rode, in the fields and through the towns, and telling them we were prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, going to suffer bonds for His name and truth's sake. One woman Friend carried her wheel on her lap to spin on in prison; and the people were mightily affected.

At Leicester we went to an inn. The master of the house seemed troubled that we should go to the prison; and being himself in commission, he sent for lawyers in the town to advise with, and would have taken up the mittimus and kept us in his own house and not have let us go into the jail. But I told Friends it would be a great charge to lie at an inn; and many Friends and people would be coming to visit us, and it might be hard for him to bear our having meetings in his house; besides, we

had many Friends in the prison already, and we had rather be with them. So we let the man know that we were sensible of his kindness, and to prison we went, the poor man that brought us thither delivering both the mittimus and us to the jailer. This jailer had been a very wicked, cruel man. Six or seven Friends being in prison before we came, he had taken some occasion to quarrel with them, and thrust them into the dungeon amongst the felons, where there was hardly room for them to lie down. We stayed all that day in the prison-yard, and desired the jailer to let us have some straw. He surlily answered, "You do not look like men that would lie on straw." After a while, William Smith, a Friend, came to me, and he being acquainted in the house, I asked him what rooms there were in it, and what rooms Friends had usually been put into before they were put into the dungeon. I asked him also whether the jailer or his wife was master. He said the wife was master; and though she was lame and sate mostly in her chair, being only able to go on crutches, yet she would beat her husband when he came within her reach if he did not do as she would have him. I considered, probably many Friends might come to visit us, and that if we had a room to ourselves it would be better for them to speak to me, and me to them, as there should be occasion. Wherefore I desired William Smith to go speak with the woman, and acquaint her, if she would let us have a room, suffer our Friends to come out of the dungeon, and leave it to us to give her what we would, it might be better for her. He went, and after some reasoning with her, she consented; and we were had into a room. Then we were told that the jailer would not suffer us to have any drink out of the town into the prison, but that what beer we drank we must take of him. I told them I would remedy that, for we would get a pail of water and a little wormwood once a day, and that might serve us; so we should have none of his beer, and the water he could not deny us.

When the First-day came, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners to carry down a stool and set it in the yard, and give notice to the debtors and felons that there would be a meeting in the yard, and they that would hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. So the debtors and prisoners gathered in the yard, and we went down, and had a very precious meeting, the jailer not meddling. I said to my fellow-prisoners that if any of them had anything from the Lord to speak to the people they might, and if the jailer came I would speak to him. Thus every First-day we had a meeting as long as we stayed in prison;

and several came in out of the city and country. Many were convinced, and some received the Lord's truth there, who have stood faithful witnesses for it ever since.

When the Sessions came we were brought before the justices, with many more Friends sent to prison whilst we were there, to the number of about twenty. Being brought into the Court, the jailer put us into the place where the thieves were put, and then some of the justices began to tender the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to us. I told them I never took any oath in my life, and they knew we could not swear, because Christ and His Apostle forbade it; therefore they put it but as a snare to us. I also desired them to read our mittimus, which set forth the cause of our commitment to be that we were to have had a meeting; and I said Lord Beaumont could not by that Act send us to jail unless we had been taken at a meeting, and found to be such persons as the Act speaks of; therefore we desired they would read the mittimus, and see how wrongfully we were imprisoned. They would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury, and indicted us for refusing to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman of the city spake to them and bid them have a good conscience; and one of the jury, being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury; whereupon they called him up, and tendered him the oath also, and he took it.

While we were standing where the thieves used to stand, a cut-purse had his hand in several Friends' pockets. Friends declared it to the justices, and shewed them the man. They called him up before them, and upon examination he could not deny it; yet they set him at liberty.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought us in guilty; and then, after some words the justices whispered together, and bid the jailer take us down to prison again. There being a great concourse of people, most of them followed us; so that the crier and bailiffs were fain to call the people back again to the Court. We declared the truth as we went down the streets all along till we came to the jail, the streets being full of people. When we were in our chamber again, after some time the jailer came to us, and desired all to go forth that were not prisoners. When they were gone, he said, "Gentlemen, it is the Court's pleasure that ye should all be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes; and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give to me what you will."

Thus we were all set at liberty suddenly, and passed every one into his service.

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From Swannington we came into Warwickshire, where we had brave meetings; and into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, visiting Friends till we came to London.

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And there came one from London with a motion to me, after Edward Burrough was deceased, it being a whimsey got up into her head, and an imagination got into her head, because Edward Burrough was deceased that we should be all taken away. So the power of the Lord rose in me and I was moved of the Lord to tell her that her motion was false and that she was deceived; and so sent her home again.

And Friends told me that Edward Burrough said if he had been but an hour with me he should have been well.

After some time I travelled into Kent, having Thomas Briggs with me. We went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and a very blessed meeting; and on the First-day we had a very good and peaceable one at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden, and had a meeting there, to which many Friends came from several parts, and many of the world's people came in, and were reached by Truth. When the meeting was done, I walked with Thomas Briggs into a close while our horses were got ready; and turning my head, I espied a captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of the soldiers came to us, and said we must go to their captain. When they had brought us before him, he asked, "Where is George Fox? which is he?" I said, "I am the man." Then he came to me and was somewhat struck, and said, "I will secure you among the soldiers." So he called for them to take me. He took Thomas Briggs and the man of the house, with many more; but the power of the Lord was mightily over them all. Then he came to me again, and said I must go along with him to the town; and he carried himself pretty civilly, bidding the soldiers bring the rest after. As we walked, I asked him why they did thus; for I had not seen so much ado a great while, and I bid him be civil to his neighbours, who were peaceable.

When we were come to the town they had us to an inn that was the jailer's house; and after a while the mayor of the town,

and this captain, and the lieutenant, who were justices, came together and examined me why I came thither to make a disturbance. I told them I did not come to make a disturbance, neither had I made any since I came. They said there was a law against the Quakers' meetings, made only against them. I told them I knew no such law. Then they brought forth the Act that was made against Quakers and others. I told them that was against such as were a terror to the King's subjects, and were enemies, and held principles dangerous to the government, and therefore that was not against us, for we held Truth; and our principles were not dangerous to the government, and our meetings were peaceable, as they knew, who knew their neighbours were a peaceable people. They told me that I was an enemy to the King. I answered we loved all people and were enemies to none; that I, for my own part, had been cast into Derby dungeon about the time of Worcester fight because I would not take up arms against him, and that I was afterward brought by Colonel Hacker to London as a plotter to bring in King Charles, and was kept prisoner there till set at liberty by Oliver. They asked me whether I was imprisoned in the time of the insurrection. I said yes; I had been imprisoned then, and since that also, and had been set at liberty by the King's own command. I opened the Act to them, and shewed them the King's late declaration; gave them the examples of other justices, and told them also what the House of Lords had said of it. I spake also to them concerning their own conditions, exhorting them to live in the fear of God, to be tender towards their neighbours that feared God, and to mind God's wisdom by which all things were made and created, that they might come to receive it, be ordered by it, and by it order all things to God's glory. They demanded bond of us for our appearance at the Sessions; but we, pleading our innocency, refused to give bond. Then they would have us promise to come no more there; but we kept clear of that also. When they saw they could not bring us to their terms, they told us we should see they were civil to us, for it was the mayor's pleasure we should all be set at liberty. I told them their civility was noble, and so we parted.

Then leaving Tenterden we passed through the country, visiting Friends, and having great meetings, all quiet and free from disturbance except by some jangling Baptists, till we came into Hampshire. After a good meeting at Southampton we went to Poulner, in the parish of Ringwood, where was a

monthly meeting next day, to which many Friends came from Southampton, Poole, and other places; and the weather being very hot, some of them came pretty early in the morning. I took a Friend and walked out with him into the orchard, inquiring of him how the affairs of Truth stood amongst them (for many of them had been convinced by me before I was a prisoner in Cornwall). While we were discoursing, another young man came and told us the trained bands were raising, and he heard they would come and break up the meeting. It was not yet meeting-time by about three hours, and there being other Friends walking in the orchard, the Friend that I was discoursing with before desired me to walk into a corn-field adjoining it, which we did. After a while the young man that spake of the trained bands left us and went away, and when he was gone a pretty way, he stood and waved his hat. Whereupon I spake to the other young man that was with me to go and see what he ailed. He went, but did not return; for the soldiers, it seems, were come into the orchard. As I kept walking I could see the soldiers, and some of them, as I heard afterwards, did see me, but had no mind to meddle. Coming so long before the meeting-time, they did not tarry, but took what Friends they found at the house, and some whom they met in the lane coming, and had them away. After they were gone, it drew towards the eleventh hour, Friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had; for the everlasting Seed of God was set over all, and the people were settled in the new covenant of life, upon the foundation, Christ Jesus.

Towards the latter part of the meeting there came a man in gay apparel, and looked in while I was declaring, and went away again presently. This man came with an evil intent; for he went forthwith to Ringwood and told the magistrates they had taken two or three men at Poulner, and had left George Fox there preaching to two or three hundred people. Upon this the magistrates sent the officers and soldiers again; but the meeting being nearly ended when the man looked in, and he having about a mile and a half to go with his information to fetch the soldiers, and they as far to come after they had received their orders, before they came our meeting was over, ending about the third hour peaceably and orderly. After the meeting I spake to the Friends of the house where it was held (the woman of the house lying then dead in the house), and then some Friends conducted me to another Friend's house at a little

distance; where, after we had refreshed ourselves, I took horse, having about twenty miles to ride that afternoon to one Fry's house in Wiltshire,¹ where a meeting was appointed for the next day.

And as we were going, one of the officers passed by us, as we heard afterwards, but the Lord's power so struck him that he durst not meddle with us.

After we were gone, the officers and soldiers came in a great heat, and when they found they were too late, and had missed their prey, they were much enraged; and the officers were offended with the soldiers, that they had not seized my horse in the stable the first time they came. But the Lord, by His good providence, did deliver me, and prevented of their mischievous design. For the officers were envious men, and had an evil mind against Friends; but the Lord brought His judgments upon them, so that it was taken notice of by their neighbours.

At Fry's in Wiltshire we had a very blessed meeting, and quiet, though the officers had a purpose to have broken it up, and were on their way in order thereunto. But before they got to it, word was brought after them that there was a house newly broken up by thieves, and they were required to go back again with speed to search after and pursue them; by which means our meeting escaped disturbance, and we were delivered out of their hands.

We passed through Wiltshire into Dorsetshire, and into Cornwall to Loveday Hambley's, where we had a general meeting for the whole country; and all was quiet.

A little before this Joseph Hellen and George Bewley had been at Loo to visit Blanch Pope, a Ranting woman, under pretence to convince and convert her; but before they left her, she had so bewitched them with her principles that they seemed to be like her disciples, especially Joseph Hellen (but I was made to judge them, both to Friends and others), for she had asked them, "Who made the Devil; did not God?" This idle question so puzzled them that they could not answer her. They afterwards asked me that question. I told them, "No; for all that God made was good and was blessed; so was not the Devil. He was called a serpent before he was called a Devil, an adversary, and then he had the title of Devil given to him because he was

¹ William Fry (c. 1622-1708) lived at Ashgrove, in the parish of Donhead St. Mary.

a destroyer. Afterwards he was called a dragon. The Devil abode not in the truth, and by departing from the truth he became a Devil. So the Jews, when they went out of the truth, were said to be of the Devil, and were called serpents. Now there is no promise of God to the Devil that ever he shall return to Truth again; but to man and woman, who have been deceived by him, the promise of God is that 'the Seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head'—shall break his power and strength to pieces." Now when these things were opened more at large to the satisfaction of Friends, those two who had yielded to the spirit of that Ranting woman were judged by the truth; and one of them, Joseph Hellen, ran quite out from Truth and was denied by Friends; but George Bewley was recovered, and came afterwards to be serviceable to Truth.

We passed from Loveday Hambley's to Francis Hodges's, near Falmouth and Penryn, where we had a large meeting. Thence we went to Helston, where some Friends came to visit us; and next day passed to Thomas Teage's, where we had another large meeting, at which many were convinced. I was made to open the state of the Church in the primitive times, the state of the Church in the wilderness, and the state of the false Church that was got up since, and that now the everlasting gospel was preached again over the head of the whore, beast, false prophets and antichrists, which had got up since the apostles' days; and now the everlasting gospel was received and receiving, which brought life and immortality to light, that they might see over the Devil that had darkened them. The people received the gospel and the word of life gladly, and a glorious blessed meeting we had for the exalting of the Lord's everlasting truth and His name. After the meeting was done I walked out, and as I was coming in again I heard a noise in the court, and coming nearer, I found the man of the house speaking to the tanners and others of the world's people, and telling them it was the everlasting truth that had been declared there that day; and the people were generally confessing to it.

From thence we passed to the Land's End, to John Ellis's, where we had a precious meeting. Here was a fisherman, one Nicholas Jose, that was convinced. He spake in meetings, and declared the truth amongst the people, and the Lord's power was over all. I was glad that the Lord had raised up His standard in those dark parts of the nation, where there is since a fine meeting of honest-hearted Friends; many are come to

sit under Christ's teaching; and a great people the Lord will have in that country.

Thence we returned to Redruth, and next day to Truro, where we had a meeting. Next morning some of the chief of the town desired to speak with me, amongst whom was Colonel Rouse. I went and had much discourse with them concerning the things of God. In their reasoning they said the gospel was the four books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; and they called it natural. I told them the gospel was the power of God, which was preached before Matthew, Mark, Luke and John or any of them were printed or written; and it was preached to every creature (of which a great part might never see or hear of those four books), so that every creature was to obey the power of God; for Christ, the spiritual Man, would judge the world according to the gospel, that is, according to His invisible power. When they heard this, they could not gainsay, for the truth came over them. I directed them to their teacher, the Grace of God, and shewed them the sufficiency of it, which would teach them how to live, and what to deny; and being obeyed, would bring them salvation. So to that grace I recommended them, and left them.

The priests and professors of all sorts were much against Friends' silent meetings; and sometimes the priests and professors would come to our meetings and when they saw one hundred or two hundred people all silent, waiting upon the Lord, they would break out into wonder and despising, and some of them would say, "Look how these people sit mumbing and dumbing! what edification is here where there are no words? Come," would they say, "let us be gone. Why should we stay here to see a people sit in this manner?" And they said they never saw the like in their life.

Then, it may be, some Friends have been moved to speak to them, and say, "Didst thou never see the like in thy life? Look in thy own parish and let the priest see there, how your people 'sit mumbing and dumbing,' and sleeping under your priests all their life-time; who keep people always under their teaching that they may be always paying."

In Cornwall I was informed there was one Colonel Robinson,¹ a very wicked man and one who had forsaken the nation before

¹ Thomas Robinson (died 1663) was M.P. for the borough of Helston.

the King came in for ravishing a woman, who, after the King came in, was made a justice of the peace, and became a cruel persecutor of our Friends, of whom he sent many to prison. Hearing that they had some little liberty, through the favour of the jailer, to come home sometimes to visit their wives and children, he made a great complaint thereof to the judge at the Assize against the jailer; whereupon the jailer was fined a hundred marks, and Friends were kept very strictly up for a while. After he was come home from the Assize, he sent to a neighbouring justice, to desire him to go to a fanatic-hunting with him. So on the day that he intended, and was prepared to go, he sent his man about with his horses, and he walked on foot from his dwelling-house to a tenement, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. When he came there he asked for his bull. The servants said they had shut him into the field because he was unruly against the kine and hindered their milking. Then he went into the field to the bull, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with him, he began to fence at him with his staff. But the bull snuffed at him, and passed a little back; then turning upon him again, ran fiercely at him and struck his horn into his thigh, and heaving him upon his horns, threw him over his back and tore up his thigh to his belly. When he came to the ground again he gored him with his horns and would run them into the ground in his rage and violence, roared, and licked up his master's blood. The maid-servant, hearing her master cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off from her master. The bull, without hurting her, put her gently by with his horns, but still fell to goring of him and licking up his blood. Then she ran and got some carpenters and other people that were at work not far off to come and rescue her master; but they could not all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then he fled in great rage and fury. Upon notice of it his sister came and said to him, "Alack! brother, what a heavy judgment is this that is befallen you!" He answered, "Ah! sister, it is a heavy judgment indeed. Pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh given to the poor," said he. So they carried him home, but he died soon after. The bull was grown so fierce that they were forced to shoot him with guns; for no man durst come near to kill him. Thus does the Lord sometimes make some examples of His just judgment upon the persecutors of His people, that others may fear and learn to beware.

After I had cleared myself of Cornwall I left Thomas Lower, who came over Horsebridge into Devonshire with me. Thomas Briggs, Robert Widders and I came to Tiverton; and it being their fair, and many Friends there, we had a meeting amongst them. The magistrates gathered in the street, but the Lord's power stopped them. I saw them in the street over against the door, but they had not power to come in to meddle with us, though they had will enough to do it.

After the meeting we passed to Collumpton and Wellington, for we had appointed a meeting five miles off, where we had a large one at a butcher's house, and a blessed meeting it was. The people were directed to their Teacher, the Grace of God, which would bring them salvation, and many were settled under its teaching. The Lord's presence was amongst us, and we were refreshed in Him, in whom we laboured and travailed; and the meeting was quiet. There had been very great persecution in that country and town a little before, insomuch that some Friends questioned the peaceableness of our meeting; but the Lord's power chained all, and His glory shined over all. Friends told us how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry Friends before the justices; and Friends bid them carry them then. The officers said nay; they must go: but Friends said nay; that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were fain to hire carts, and waggons, and horses and to lift Friends up into their waggons and carts, to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, and if he were a moderate man he would, it may be, get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another, so that they were almost three weeks carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterward the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's-people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves; which brake the neck of their persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then they were fain to give over.

At one place¹ the town's officers warned Friends to come to the steeple-house. Friends met to consider of it, and the Lord moved them to go to the steeple-house and meet together there.

¹ Said to be Wellingborough.

Accordingly when they came thither, they sate down to wait upon the Lord in His power and spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher and Saviour; but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to them to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the Friends told them it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. A while after, when the priest had done his stuff, they came to the Friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them they did not use to go to dinner, but were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sate, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying His power and presence, till He ordered them to depart. Thus the priest's people were offended because they could not get them to the steeple-house; and when there, they were offended because they could not get them out again.

From the meeting near Collumpton we went to Taunton, where we had a large meeting. The next day we came to a general meeting in Somersetshire, which was very large; and the Lord's everlasting word of life and truth was largely declared. The people were refreshed thereby, and settled upon Christ, their Rock and Foundation, and brought to sit under His teaching; the meeting was peaceable. But about two of the clock in the night there came a company of men about the house, who knocked at the doors and bid us open them or they would break them down; for they wanted a man that they came to search the house for. I heard the noise and got up, and at the window saw a man at the door with his sword by his side. When they had let him in, he came into the chamber where I was, and looked on me, and said, "You are not the man I look for," and went his way.

We came thence to Street, and to William Beaton's, at Puddimore, where we had a very large general meeting, wherein the Lord's everlasting truth was declared, the people refreshed, and all quiet. Thence we went to John Dander's, where we had another large and very precious meeting; and then passed on to Bristol, where we had a large service for the Lord, and all quiet. Here we met with Margaret Fell and her daughters. After some time we went to Slaughterford in Wiltshire, where was a very large meeting in a great barn. Good service we had there: for the truth, as it is in Jesus, was published amongst them, and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord.

After this I passed into Gloucestershire and Herefordshire,

having large meetings in each. In Hereford I had a meeting in the inn. When I was gone, the magistrates, hearing there had been a meeting, came to search the inn for me, and were in a great rage that they had missed me. But the Lord so ordered it that I escaped their hands; and Friends were established upon Christ, their Foundation, the Rock of Ages.

Then I went into Radnorshire, in Wales, and had several precious meetings there. The Lord's name and standard was set up, and many were gathered to it, and settled under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour, who bought them.

After I was clear of Wales, I came to a market-town between England and Wales where there was a great fair that day; and several Friends being at the fair, we went to an inn and they came to us. After we had had a fine opportunity with Friends, we parted from them and went on our way. The officers of the town took notice, it seems, of our being there, and of Friends gathering to us. They began also to get together to consult among themselves how to ensnare us, though it was the fair time; but before they could do anything we were gone on our journey, and so escaped them.

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Then I passed through the country, visiting Friends, till I came to the farther end of Holderness, and so passed by Scarbro', Whitby and Malton to York, having many meetings in the way; and the Lord's everlasting power was over all.

We went from York to Boroughbridge, where I had a glorious meeting. Thence we passed into Bishoprick to one Richmond's,¹ where there was a general meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, though people were grown exceeding rude about this time. After the meeting we went to Henry Draper's,² where we stayed all night. Next morning a Friend came to me as I was passing away, and told me if the priests and justices (for many priests were made justices in that country at that time) could light of me, they would tie me to a stake and burn me.

Being clear of Bishoprick, I went over Stainmoor into Yorkshire and to Sedbergh, where having visited Friends I went into Westmorland, visiting Friends there also. Thence I passed into Lancashire and came to Swarthmoor. Here I stayed but a little while before I went over the Sands to Arnside, where I had a

¹ Perhaps Heighington, where several Friends named Richmond were living.

² Draper lived at Headlam, Co. Durham.

general meeting. After it was ended, there came some men to break it up; but understanding before they arrived that the meeting was over, they turned back. I went to Robert Widders's, and thence to Underbarrow, where I had a glorious meeting, and the Lord's power was over all. Thence I passed to Grayrigg, and having visited Friends there, I went to Anne Audland's, where they would have had me to stay their meeting next day; but I was much burdened in my spirit whilst I was in the house. It came upon me to go to John Blaykling's in Sedbergh, and to be next day at the meeting there, which is large, and a precious people there is. We had a very good meeting next day at Sedbergh; but the constables went to the meeting at Anne Audland's to look for me. Thus by the hand and power of the Lord I escaped their snare.

I passed into Northumberland to Derwentwater,¹ where we had a very glorious meeting. There came an ancient woman to me, and told me her husband remembered his love to me; she said I might call him to mind by this token, that I used to call him "the Hale White Old Man." She said he was six score and two years old, and that he would have come to the meeting, but his horses were all employed upon some urgent occasion. I heard he lived some years after.

When I had visited Friends in those parts, and they were settled upon Christ, their Foundation, I passed through Northumberland, and came to old Thomas Bewley's in Cumberland. Friends came about me, and asked would I come there to go into prison. For there was great persecution in that country at that time; yet I had a general meeting at Thomas Bewley's, which was large and precious, and the Lord's power was over all.

So eager were the magistrates about this time to stir up persecution in those parts, that some offered five shillings, and some a noble a day, to any that could apprehend the speakers amongst the Quakers; but it being now the time of the Quarter Sessions in that country, the men who were so hired were gone to the Sessions to get their wages, and so all our meetings were at that time quiet.

From Pardshaw-Crag we went into Westmorland, calling on

¹ The upper portion of the river Derwent, where it forms the boundary between Durham and Northumberland.

the way upon Hugh Tickell, near Keswick,¹ and upon Thomas Laythes, where Friends came to visit us; and we had a fine opportunity to be refreshed together. We went one night to Francis Benson's, in Westmorland, near Justice Fleming's house.² This Justice Fleming was at that time in a great rage against Friends, and me in particular; insomuch that in the open Sessions at Kendal just before he had bid five pounds to any man that should take me, as Francis Benson told me. And it seems, as I went to this Friend's house, I met one man coming from the Sessions that had this five pounds offered him to take me, and he knew me; for as I passed by him he said to his companion, "That is George Fox"; yet he had not power to touch me, for the Lord's power preserved me over them all. The justices being so eager to have me, and I being so often nigh them, and yet they missing me, tormented them the more.

I went thence to James Taylor's at Cartmel, where I stayed the First-day and had a precious meeting; and after it I came over the Sands to Swarthmoor.

¹ Hugh Tickell (c. 1610-1680) belonged to Portinscale Meeting.

² Sir Daniel Fleming (1633-1701), of Rydal Hall.

CHAPTER XVII

LANCASTER AND SCARBOROUGH PRISONS

1663-1666

WHEN I came to Swarthmoor they told me Colonel Kirkby¹ had sent his lieutenant thither to take me, and that he had searched trunks and chests for me. That night as I was lying in bed, I was moved of the Lord to go next day to Kirkby Hall, which was Colonel Kirkby's house, about five miles off, to speak with him, and I did so. When I came thither, I found there the Flemings and several others of the gentry of the country come to take their leave of Colonel Kirkby, he being about to go up to London to the Parliament. I was had into the parlour amongst them; but Colonel Kirkby was not then within, being gone forth a little way; so they said little to me, nor I much to them. But presently he came in, and I told him that understanding he was desirous to see me I came to visit him, to know what he had to say to me, and whether he had anything against me. He said before all the gentry that, as he was a gentleman, he had nothing against me. "But," said he, "Mistress Fell must not keep great greetings at her house, for they meet contrary to the Act." I told him that Act did not take hold on us but on such as met to plot and contrive, and to raise insurrections against the King, whereas we were no such people; for he knew that they that met at Margaret Fell's house were his neighbours, and a peaceable people. After many words had passed, he shook me by the hand, and said again he had nothing against me; and others of them said I was a deserving man. So we parted, and I returned to Swarthmoor.

Shortly after, when Colonel Kirkby was gone to London, there was a private meeting of the justices and deputy-lieutenants at Holker Hall, where Justice Preston lived; and there they granted a warrant to apprehend me. I heard over-night both of their meeting and of the warrant, and so could have gone away and got out of their reach if I would; for I had not appointed any meeting at that time, and I had cleared myself of the North.

¹ Richard Kirkby (c. 1625-1681).

But I considered, there being a noise of a plot in the North, if I should go away they might fall upon poor Friends, but if I gave up myself to be taken it might stop them and Friends should escape the better. So I gave myself up to be taken, and prepared myself against they came.

Next day an officer came with sword and pistol to take me. I told him I knew his errand the night before, and had given up myself to be taken; for if I would have escaped their imprisonment I might have been forty miles off before he came; but I was an innocent man, and so mattered not what they could do to me. He asked me how I heard of it, seeing the order was made privately in a parlour. I said it was no matter for that, it was sufficient that I heard of it. Then I asked him to let me see his order; whereupon he laid his hand on his sword, and said I must go with him before the lieutenants, to answer such questions as they should propound to me. I told him it was but civil and reasonable for him to let me see his order; but he would not. Then said I, "I am ready." So I went along with him, and Margaret Fell went with me to Holker Hall.

When we came thither, there was one Rawlinson, called a justice, and one called Sir George Middleton, and many more that I did not know, besides old Thomas Preston who lived there. They brought Thomas Atkinson, a Friend of Cartmel, as a witness against me, for some words which he had told to one Knipe,¹ who had informed them; which words were that I had written against the plotters, and had knocked them down. These words they could not make much of, for I told them I had heard of a plot, and had written against it.

Old Preston asked me whether I had a hand in that script. I asked him what he meant. He said, "In *The Battledore*." I answered, "Yes." Then he asked me whether I understood languages. I said, "Sufficient for myself"; and that I knew no law that was transgressed by it. I told them also that to understand those outward languages was no matter of salvation, and if I did understand anything of them, I judged and knocked them down again for any matter of salvation that was in them. And so he turned away, and said, "George Fox knocks down all the languages. Come," said he, "we will examine you of higher matters."

Then said George Middleton, "You deny God, and the Church, and the faith." I replied, "Nay, I own God, and the true Church, and the true faith. But what church dost thou own?"

¹ William Knipe, of the parish of Cartmel.

said I (for I understood he was a Papist). Then he turned again and said, "You are a rebel." I asked him to whom he spake, or whom did he call rebel: he was so full of envy that for a while he could not speak, but at last he said he spake it to me. With that I struck my hand on the table, and told him I had suffered more than twenty such as he, or than any that were there; for I had been cast into Derby dungeon for six months together, and had suffered much because I would not take up arms against this King before Worcester fight. I had been sent up prisoner out of my own country by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles, in the year 1654; and I had nothing but love and goodwill to the King, and desired the eternal good and welfare of him and all his subjects. "Did you ever hear the like?" said Middleton. "Nay," said I, "ye may hear it again if ye will. For ye talk of the King, a company of you, but where were ye in Oliver's days, and what did ye do then for him? But I have more love to the King for his eternal good and welfare than any of you have."

Then they asked me whether I had heard of the plot. And I said yes, I had heard of it. They asked me how I had heard of it, and whom I knew in it. I told them I had heard of it through the high-sheriff of Yorkshire,¹ who had told Dr. Hodgson that there was a plot in the North; that was the way I heard of it; but I had never heard of any such thing in the South, nor till I came into the North. And as for knowing any in the plot, I was as a child in that, for I knew none of them. Then said they, "Why would you write against it, if you did not know some that were in it?" I said, "My reason was because you are so forward to mash the innocent and guilty together, therefore I wrote against it to clear the truth from such things, and to stop all forward, foolish spirits from running into such things. I sent copies of it into Westmorland, Cumberland, Bishoprick and Yorkshire, and to you here. I sent another copy of it to the King and his Council, and it is like it may be in print by this time." One of them said, "Oh! this man hath great power." I said, "Yes; I had power to write against plotters." Then said one of them, "You are against the laws of the land." I answered, "Nay, for I and my Friends bring all people to the Spirit of God in them, to mortify the deeds of the flesh. This brings them into well-doing, and from that which the magistrate's sword is against, which eases the magistrates, who are for the punishment of the evil-doers. So people being turned to

¹ Sir Thomas Gower, Bart.

the Spirit of God, which brings them to mortify the deeds of the flesh, this brings them from under the occasion of the magistrate's sword; and this must needs be one with magistracy, and one with the law, which was added because of transgression, and is for the praise of them that do well. So in this we establish the law, are an ease to the magistrates, and are not against, but stand for, all good government."

Then George Middleton cried, "Bring the Book and put the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to him." Now he himself being a Papist, I asked him whether he had taken the oath of Supremacy, who was a swearer. As for us, we could not swear at all, because Christ and the Apostle had forbidden it. Some of them would not have had the oath put to me, but have set me at liberty, but the rest would not agree to that; for this was their last snare, and they had no other way to get me into prison, all other things had been cleared to them. This was like the Papists' Sacrament of the Altar, by which they ensnared the martyrs. So they tendered me the oath, which I could not take; whereupon they were about to make my mittimus to send me to Lancaster jail; but considering of it, they only engaged me to appear at the Sessions, and so for that time dismissed me.

Then I went back with Margaret Fell to Swarthmoor; and soon after Colonel West came to see me, who was at that time a justice of the peace. He told us he acquainted some of the rest of the justices that he would come over to see me and Margaret Fell; "but it may be," said he, "some of you will take offence at it." I asked him what he thought they would do with me at the Sessions; and he said they would tender the oath to me again.

Whilst I was at Swarthmoor, William Kirkby came into Swarthmoor meeting, and brought the constables with him. I was sitting with Friends in the meeting, and he said to me, "How now, Mr. Fox! you have a fine company here." "Yes," said I, "we do meet to wait upon the Lord." So he began to take the names of Friends, and them that did not readily tell him their names he committed to the constables' hands, and sent some to prison. The constables were unwilling to take them without a warrant, whereupon he threatned to set them by the heels; but one of the constables told him he could keep them in his presence, but after he was gone he could not keep them without a warrant.

The Sessions coming on, I went to Lancaster, and appeared according to my engagement. There was upon the Bench that

Justice Fleming who had bid five pounds in Westmorland to any man that would apprehend me; for he was a justice both in Westmorland and Lancashire. There were also Justice Spencer, Colonel West, and old Justice Rawlinson the lawyer, who gave the charge, and was very sharp against Truth and Friends, that I thought once he would have been choked; but the Lord's power stopped him. The Sessions was large, and the concourse of people great; and way being made for me, I came up to the Bar and stood there with my hat on, they looking earnestly upon me and I upon them for a pretty space. Then proclamation being made for all to keep silence upon pain of imprisonment, and all being quiet, I said twice, "Peace be among you." The chairman asked if I knew where I was; I said, "Yes, I do; but it may be," said I, "my hat offends you; that is a low thing, that is not the honour that I give to magistrates; for the true honour is from above; which I have received, and I hope it is not the hat which ye look upon to be the honour." The chairman said they looked for the hat too, and asked wherein I shewed my respect to magistrates if I did not put off my hat. I replied, in coming when they called me. Then they bid one take off my hat. After which it was some time before they spake to me, and I felt the power of the Lord to arise.

After some pause, old Justice Rawlinson, the chairman, asked me if I knew of the plot. I told him I had heard of it in Yorkshire, by a Friend, that had it from the high-sheriff. Then they asked me whether I had declared it to the magistrates. I said, "I sent papers abroad against plots and plotters, and also to you, as soon as I came into the country, to take all jealousies out of your minds concerning me and my Friends; for it was and is our principle to declare against such things." They asked me then if I knew not of an Act against meetings. I said I knew there was an Act that took hold of such as met to the terrifying of the King's subjects, and were enemies to the King, and held dangerous principles; but I hoped they did not look upon us to be such men, for our meetings were not to terrify the King's subjects, neither are we enemies to him or any man. Then they tendered me the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. I told them I could not take any oath at all, because Christ and His Apostle had forbid it; and they had had sufficient experience of swearers first one way then another; but I had never taken any oath in my life. Then Rawlinson the lawyer asked me whether I held it was unlawful to swear. This question he put on purpose to ensnare me; for by an Act that

was made, such were liable to banishment or a great fine that should say it was unlawful to swear. But I seeing the snare, avoided it, and told him that in the time of the law, amongst the Jews before Christ came, the law commanded them to swear; but Christ, who doth fulfil the law in His gospel time, commands not to swear at all; and the apostle James forbids swearing, even to them that were Jews and had the law of God. So after much other discourse had passed they called for the jailer and committed me to prison.

I had about me that paper which I had written as a testimony against plots, which I desired they would read, or suffer to be read, in open Court; but they would not. So I being committed for refusing to swear, I bid them and all the people take notice that I suffered for the doctrine of Christ, and for my obedience to His command. Afterwards I understood the justices said they had private instructions from Colonel Kirkby to prosecute me, notwithstanding his fair carriage and seeming kindness to me before, when he declared before many of them that he had nothing against me.

Several other Friends were committed to prison, some for meeting to worship God, and some for not swearing; so that the prison was very full. Many of them being poor men that had nothing to maintain their families by but their labour which now they were taken off from, several of their wives went to the justices who had committed their husbands, and told them if they kept their husbands in jail for nothing but the truth of Christ, and for good conscience sake, they would bring their children to the justices for them to maintain them. A mighty power of the Lord rose in Friends, and gave them great boldness, so that they spake much to the justices. Friends also that were prisoners wrote to the justices, laying the weight of their sufferings upon them, and shewing them both their injustice and want of compassion towards their poor neighbours, whom they knew to be honest, conscientious, peaceable people, that in tenderness of conscience could not take any oath; yet they sent them to prison for refusing to take the oath of Allegiance. Several who were imprisoned on that account were known to be men that had served the King in his wars, and had hazarded their lives in the field in his cause, and had suffered great hardships with the loss of much blood for him, and had always stood faithful to him from first till last, and had never received any pay for their service To be thus requited for all their faithful

services and sufferings, and that by them that pretended to be the King's friends, was hard, unkind, and ungrateful dealing. At length the justices being continually attended with complaints of grievances, released some of the Friends, but kept divers of them still in prison.

I was kept till the Assize; and Judge Turner and Judge Twisden coming that circuit, I was brought before Judge Twisden on the 14th day of the First Month, called March, in the latter end of the year 1663.¹ When I was set up to the Bar, I said, "Peace be amongst you all." The judge looked upon me, and said, "What! do you come into the Court with your hat on?" Upon which, the jailer taking it off, I said, "The hat is not the honour that comes from God." Then said the judge to me, "Will you take the oath of Allegiance, George Fox?" I said, "I never took any oath in my life, nor any covenant or engagement." "Well," said he, "will you swear or no?" I answered, "I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear, and so does the apostle James, and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge." "I ask you again," said he, "whether you will swear or not." I told him they had had experience enough, how many men had first sworn for the King and then against him. But as for me, I had never taken an oath in all my life; and my allegiance did not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the King. Then I asked the judge if he did own the King. "Yes," said he, "I do own the King." "Why then," said I, "dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England, that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as they lived peaceably? Now if thou ownest the King, why dost thou call me into question, and put me upon taking an oath which is a matter of religion, seeing neither thou nor any else can charge me with unpeaceable living?"

Upon this he was moved, and looking angrily at me, said, "Sirrah! will you swear?" I told him I was none of his sirrahs, I was a Christian; and for him, an old man and a judge, to sit there and give names to prisoners, it did not become either his gray hairs or his office. "Well," said he, "I am a Christian too." "Then do Christian works," said I. "Sirrah!" said he, "thou

¹ According to the old reckoning, the year 1664 began on the 25th of March.

thinkest to frighten me with thy words." Then catching himself and looking aside, he said, "Hark! I am using the word again"; and so checked himself. I said, "I spake to thee in love; for that language did not become thee, a judge. Thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner in the law, if he were ignorant and out of the way." "And I speak in love to thee too," said he. "But," said I, "love gives no names." Then he roused himself up, and said, "I will not be afraid of thee, George Fox; thou speakest so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the Court's; I must call for three or four criers to drown thy voice: thou hast good lungs." "I am a prisoner here," said I, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake; for His sake do I suffer, for Him do I stand this day; and if my voice were five times louder, I should lift it up, and sound it for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat in obedience to Christ who commands not to swear; before whose judgment seat you must all be brought and must give an account." "Well," said the judge, "George Fox, say whether thou wilt take the oath, yea or nay." I replied, "I say, as I said before, whether ought I to obey God or man, judge thou. If I could take any oath at all, I should take this; for I do not deny some oaths only, or on some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine, who hath commanded His followers not to swear at all."

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"Then you will not swear," said the judge; "take him away, jailer." I said, "It is for Christ's sake that I cannot swear, and for obedience to His command I suffer, and so the Lord forgive you all." So the jailer took me away; but I felt the mighty power of the Lord was over them all.

The sixteenth day of the same month I was brought before Judge Twisden again: he was somewhat offended at my hat; but it being the last morning of the Assize before he was to go out of town, and not many people there, he made the less of it. He asked me whether I would traverse, stand mute, or submit. But he spake so fast that it was hard to know what he said. However, I told him I desired I might have liberty to traverse the indictment, and try it. Then said he, "Take him away, I will have nothing to do with him; take him away." I said, "Well, live in the fear of God and do justice." "Why," said he, "have not I done you justice?" I replied, "That which thou hast done has been against the command of Christ." So I was taken to the jail again, and kept prisoner till the next Assizes.

Some time before this Assize, Margaret Fell was sent prisone to Lancaster jail by Fleming, Kirkby, and Preston, justices; and at the Assize the oath was tendered to her also, and she was again committed to prison, to lie till the next Assize.

Now Justice Fleming being one of the fiercest and most violent justices in persecuting Friends, and sending his honest neighbours to prison for religion's sake, and many Friends at this time being in Lancaster jail committed by him, and some having died in prison, we that were then prisoners had it upon us to write to him.

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Besides this, which went in the names of many, I sent him also a line subscribed by myself alone.

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It was not long after this ere Fleming's wife died and left him thirteen or fourteen motherless children.

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In the Sixth Month, 1664, the Assizes were held again at Lancaster, and the same judges, Twisden and Turner, came that circuit again; but Judge Turner then sate on the Crown Bench, and so I was brought before him. Before I was called to the Bar, I was put among the murderers and felons for about two hours, the people, the justices and the judge also gazing upon me. After they had tried several others, they caused me to be brought, and caused the jury to be called. Then the judge asked the justices whether they had tendered me the oath at the Sessions. They said they had. Then he bid give them the book, that they might swear they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment. Some of the justices refused to be sworn; but the judge said he would have it done to take away all occasion of exception. When the jury were sworn, and the justices had sworn that they had tendered me the oath according to the indictment, the judge asked me whether I had not refused the oath at the last Assizes. I said I never took an oath in my life, and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, "Swear not at all." The judge seemed not to take notice of my answer, but asked me whether or not I had refused to take the oath at the last Assizes. I said, "The words that I then spake to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest or teacher, that after Christ and the Apostle

had forbidden swearing, they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear." The judge said he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear but to inquire whether I had refused to take the oath or not. I told him, "Those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the King, and owning the Pope's or any other foreign power, I utterly deny." "Well," said he, "you say well in that; but did you deny to take the oath? what say you?" "What wouldst thou have me to say?" said I; "for I have told thee before what I did say." Then he asked me if I would have these men to swear that I had taken the oath. I asked him if he would have those men to swear that I had refused the oath, at which the Court burst out into laughter. I was grieved to see so much lightness in a Court, where such solemn matters are handled, and thereupon asked them if this Court was a play-house. "Where is gravity and sobriety? for this behaviour doth not become you."

Then the clerk read the indictment, and I told the judge I had something to speak to it; for I had informed myself of the errors that were in it. He told me he would hear afterward any reasons that I could allege why he should not give judgment. Then I spake to the jury, and told them that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment, for the indictment was wrong laid, and had many gross errors in it. The judge said I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them, and he told them I had denied to take the oath at the last Assizes; and said he, "I can tender the oath to any man now, and preunire him for not taking it"; and he said they must bring me in guilty, seeing I refused to take the oath. Then said I, "What do ye do with a form? ye may throw away your form then." And I told the jury it lay upon their consciences, as they would answer it to the Lord God before His judgment-seat. Then the judge spake again to the jury, and I called to him, "Do me justice." So the jury brought me in guilty. Whereupon I told them that both the justices and they had forsworn themselves, and therefore they had small cause to laugh, as they did a little before. So they set me aside, and called up Margaret Fell, who had much good service among them; and then the Court brake up near the second hour.

In the afternoon I was brought again to have sentence passed upon me. Margaret Fell desired that sentence might be deferred till the next morning. I desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for thieves had mercy, only I desired the judge to send some one to see my prison, which was so bad they would

put no creature they had in it: and I told him that Colonel Kirkby, who was then on the Bench, said I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come to me. The judge shook his head, and said when the sentence was given, he would leave me to the favour of the jailer. Now most of the gentry of the country were gathered together expecting to hear the sentence; and the noise among the people was that I should be transported. But they were all crossed at that time; for the sentence being deferred till next morning, I was had back to prison again. Upon my complaining of the badness of my prison, some of the justices, with Colonel Kirkby, went up to see it; but when they came, they durst hardly go in, the floor was so bad and dangerous, and the place so open to wind and rain. Some that came up said, "Sure it is a jakes-house." When Colonel Kirkby saw it, and heard what others said of it, he excused the matter as well as he could, saying I should be removed ere long to some more convenient place.

Next day, towards the eleventh hour, I was called again to hear the sentence; and Margaret Fell being called first to the Bar, had counsel to plead, who found many errors in her indictment; whereupon, after the judge had acknowledged them, she was set by. Then the judge asked what they could say to my indictment. I was not willing to let any man plead for me, but to speak to it myself, and indeed, though Margaret had some that pleaded for her, yet she spake as much herself as she would. But before I came to the Bar, I was moved in my spirit to pray that God would confound their wickedness and envy, set His truth over all, and exalt His Seed. The thundering Voice said, "I have glorified thee and will glorify thee again." And I was so filled full of glory that my head and ears were full of glory, and then when the trumpets and judges came up again, they all appeared as dead men under me. And the Lord heard and answered, and did confound them in their proceedings against me; and though they had most envy against me, yet the most gross errors were found in my indictment.

Now, I having put by others from pleading for me, the judge asked me what I had to say why he should not pass sentence upon me. I told him I was no lawyer, but I had much to say, if he would have patience to hear. At that he laughed, and others laughed also, and said, "Come, what have you to say? he can say nothing." "Yes," said I, "I have much to say, have but the patience to hear me." Then I asked him whether the oath was to be tendered to the King's subjects, or to the subjects of

foreign princes. He said, "To the subjects of this realm." Then said I, "Look at the indictment, and ye may see that ye have left out the word *subject*: so not having named me in the indictment as a subject, ye cannot premunire me for not taking the oath." Then they looked over the statute and the indictment, and saw that it was as I said; and the judge confessed it was an error.

I told him I had something else to stop his judgment; and I desired him to look what day the indictment said the oath was tendered to me at the Sessions there. They looked, and said it was the eleventh day of January. "What day of the week were the Sessions held on?" said I. "On a Tuesday," said they. Then said I, "Look at your almanacs, and see whether there were any Sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January." So they looked, and found that the eleventh was the day called Monday, and that the Sessions were on the day called Tuesday, which was the twelfth day of that month. "Look ye now," said I, "ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the Quarter Sessions held at Lancaster on the eleventh day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open Sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon; and yet ye see there were no Sessions held in Lancaster that day." Then the judge, to cover the matter, asked whether the Sessions did not begin on the eleventh. But some in the Court answered, "No; the Sessions held but one day, and that was the twelfth." Then the judge said this was a great mistake, and an error. Some of the justices were in a great rage at this, and were ready to have gone off the Bench; they stamped and said, "Who hath done this? somebody hath done it on purpose"; and a great heat was amongst them. Then said I, "Are not the justices here, that have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all," said I, "I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me."

Then I asked in what year of the King the last Assize here was holden, which was in the month called March last. The judge said, "It was in the sixteenth year of the King." "But," said I, "the indictment says it was in the fifteenth year." They looked and found it so. This also was acknowledged to be another error. Then they were all in a fret again, and could not tell what to say; for the judge had sworn the officers of the Court that the oath was tendered to me at the Assize mentioned in the indictment. "Now," said I, "is not the Court here

forsworn also, who have sworn that the oath was tendered to me at the Assize holden here in the fifteenth year of the King, when it was in his sixteenth year, and so they have sworn a year false?" The judge bid them look whether Margaret Fell's indictment was so or not. They looked, and found it was not so.

I told the judge I had more yet to offer to stop sentence; and asked him whether all the oath ought to be put into the indictment or no. "Yes," said he, "it ought to be all put in." "Then," said I, "compare the indictment with the oath, and there thou mayst see these words, viz., *or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him, or his see*, left out of the indictment, which is a principal part of the oath, and in another place the words *heirs and successors* are left out." The judge acknowledged these also to be great errors. "But," said I, "I have not yet done; I have something further to allege." "Nay," said the judge, "I have enough, you need say no more." "If," said I, "thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands, for I don't look for mercy." "You must have justice," said he, "and you shall have law." Then I asked, "Am I at liberty and free from all that hath ever been done against me in this matter?" "Yes," said the judge, "you are free from all that hath been done against you. But then," starting up in a rage, he said, "I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again." I told him he had examples enough yesterday of swearing and false-swearing, both in the justices and the jury; for I saw before mine eyes that both justices and jury had forsworn themselves. The judge asked me if I would take the oath. I bid him do me justice for my false imprisonment all this while; for what had I been imprisoned so long for? and I told him I ought to be set at liberty. "You are at liberty," said he, "but I will put the oath to you again." Then I turned me about and said, "All people, take notice, this is a snare, for I ought to be set free from the jailer and from this Court." But the judge cried, "Give him the book"; and the sheriff and the justices cried, "Give him the book." Then the power of darkness rose up in them like a mountain; and a clerk lifted up a book to me. I stood still and said, "If it be a Bible, give it me into my hand." "Yes, yes," said the judge and justices, "give it him into his hand." So I took it and looked in it, and said, "I see it is a Bible; I am glad of it."

Now he had caused the jury to be called, and they stood by; for after they had brought in their former verdict, he would

not dismiss them, though they desired it; but told them he could not dismiss them yet, for he should have business for them, and therefore they must attend and be ready when they were called. When he said so, I felt his intent that if I was freed he would come on again. So I looked him in the face, and the witness of God started up in him, and made him blush when he looked at me again, for he saw that I saw him. Nevertheless, hardening himself, he caused the oath to be read to me, the jury standing by; and when it was read, he asked me whether I would take the oath or not. Then said I, "Ye have given me a book here to kiss and to swear on, and this book which ye have given me to kiss, says, 'Kiss the Son'; and the Son says in this book, 'Swear not at all'; and so says also the apostle James. Now, I say as the book says, and yet ye imprison me; how chance ye do not imprison the book for saying so? How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you, which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me? Why don't ye imprison the book?" Now as I was speaking this to them, and held up the Bible open in my hand, to shew them the place in the book where Christ forbids swearing, they plucked the book out of my hand again; and the judge said, "Nay, but we will imprison George Fox." Yet this got abroad over all the country as a by-word that they gave me a book to swear on that commanded me not to swear at all; and that the Bible was at liberty, and I in prison for doing as the Bible said.

Now when the judge still urged me to swear, I told him I never took oath, covenant, or engagement in my life, but my yea or nay was more binding to me than an oath was to many others; for had they not had experience how little men regarded an oath; and how they had sworn one way and then another; and how the justices and Court had forsworn themselves now. I told him I was a man of a tender conscience, and if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider that it was in obedience to Christ's command that I could not swear. "But," said I, "if any of you can convince me, that after Christ and the Apostle had commanded not to swear, they did alter that command and commanded Christians to swear, then ye shall see I will swear." There being many priests by, I said, "If ye cannot do it, let your priests stand up and do it." But not one of the priests made any answer. "Oh!" said the judge, "all the world cannot convince you." "No," said I; "how is it like the world should convince me? for 'the whole world lies in wickedness'; but bring out your spiritual men, as ye call

them, to convince me." Then both the sheriff and the judge said, "The angel swore in the Revelations." I replied, "When God bringeth in His first-begotten Son into the world, He saith, 'Let all the angels of God worship Him'; and He saith, 'Swear not at all.'" "Nay," said the judge, "I will not dispute." Then I spake to the jury, telling them it was for Christ's sake that I could not swear, and therefore I warned them not to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, for before His judgment-seat they must all be brought. And I told them, "As for plots, and persecution for religion and Popery, I do deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall shew forth Christianity amongst you this day. It is for Christ's sake I stand, for it is *Lotish shabiun becoll daber*."¹ And they all gazed and there was a great calm. More words I had both with the judge and jury before the jailer took me away.

In the afternoon I was brought up again, and put among the thieves a pretty while, where I stood with my hat on till the jailer took it off. Then the jury having found this new indictment against me for not taking the oath, I was called to the Bar; and the judge asked me what I would say for myself. I bid them read the indictment, for I would not answer to that which I did not hear. The clerk read it, and as he read the judge said, "Take heed it be not false again"; but he read it in such a manner that I could hardly understand what he read. When he had done, the judge asked me what I said to the indictment. I told him that at once hearing so large a writing read, and at such a distance that I could not distinctly hear all the parts of it, I could not well tell what to say to it; but if he could let me have a copy, and give me time to consider it, I would answer it. This put them to a little stand; but after a while the judge asked me what time I would have. I said, "Till the next Assize." "But," said he, "what plea will you now make? are you guilty or not guilty?" I said, "I am not guilty at all of denying swearing obstinately and wilfully; and as for those things mentioned in the oath, as Jesuitical plots and foreign powers, I utterly deny them in my heart; and if I could take any oath, I should take that; but I never took any oath in my life." The judge said I said well; "but," said he, "the King is sworn, the Parliament is sworn, I am sworn, the justices are sworn, and the law is preserved by oaths." I told him they had had sufficient experience of men's swearing, and he had seen how the justices and jury had sworn wrongly the other day; and if he had read

¹ The Hebrew means "Ye shall not swear by anything."

in the *Book of Martyrs* how many of the martyrs had refused to swear, both within the time of the ten persecutions and in Bishop Bonner's days, he might see that to deny swearing in obedience to Christ's command was no new thing. He said he wisht the laws were otherwise. I said, "Our Yea is yea, and our Nay is nay; and if we transgress our yea and our nay, let us suffer as they do, or should do, that swear falsely." This I told him we had offered to the King, and the King said it was reasonable. After some further discourse, they committed me to prison again, there to lie till the next Assize; and Colonel Kirkby gave order to the jailer to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit, he said, to be discoursed with by men.

Then I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other rooms came up so thick, that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the upper doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides, it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shift would be as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopt it, the wind, being high and fierce, would blow it out again. In this manner did I lie all that long cold winter, till the next Assize; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much numbed.

The Assize began on the 16th day of the month called March, 1664-5. The same judges, Twisden and Turner, coming down again, Judge Twisden sate this time on the Crown Bench, and before him I was had. Now I had informed myself of the errors in this indictment also. For though at the Assize before, Judge Turner had said to the officers in Court, "Pray see that all the oath be in the indictment, and that the word *subject* be in, and that the day of the month and the year of the King be put in right; for it is a shame that so many errors should be seen and found in the face of the country"; yet there were many errors, and those great ones, in this indictment as well as in the former. Surely the hand of the Lord was in it to confound their mischievous work against me and to blind them therein; insomuch, that although after the indictment was drawn at the former Assize the judge examined it himself and tried it with the

clerks, yet the word *subject* was left out of this indictment also, the day of the month was put in wrong, and several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently against me, thinking all was safe and well.

When I was set to the Bar, and the jury called over to be sworn, the clerk asked me first whether I had any objection to make against any of the jury. I told him I knew none of them. Then, having sworn the jury, they swore three of the officers of the Court to prove that the oath was tendered to me at the last Assizes, according to the indictment. "Come, come," said the judge, "it was not done in a corner." Then he asked me what I had said to it, or whether I had taken the oath at the last Assize. I told him what I had said, viz., that the book they gave me to swear on says, "Swear not at all"; and I repeated more of what I had formerly said to them, as it now came to my remembrance. Whereupon the judge said, "I will not dispute with you, but in point of law." "Then," said I, "I have something to speak to the jury concerning the indictment." He told me I must not speak to the jury, but if I had anything to say, I must speak to him. Then I asked him whether the oath was to be tendered to the King's subjects only, or to the subjects of foreign princes. He replied, "To the subjects of this realm; for I will speak nothing to you," said he, "but in point of law." "Then," said I, "look in the indictment, and thou mayest see that the word *subject* is left out of this indictment also. And therefore seeing the oath is not to be tendered to any but the subjects of this realm, and ye have not put me in as a subject, the Court is to take no notice of this indictment."

I had no sooner spoken than the judge cried, "Take him away, jailer, take him away." So I was presently hurried away. The jailer and people looked when I should be called for again; but I was never brought to the Court any more, though I had many other great errors to assign in the indictment.

After I was gone, the judge asked the jury if they were agreed. They said, "Yes," and found for the King against me, as I was told. But I was never called to hear sentence given, nor was any given against me that I could hear of. For I heard that when they had looked more narrowly into the indictment, they saw it was not good: and the judge having sworn the officers of the Court that the oath was tendered me at the Assize before, such a day, according as was set in the indictment, and that being the wrong day, I should have proved the officers of the Court forsworn men again, if the judge would have suffered me

to plead to the indictment; which was thought to be the reason why he hurried me away so soon. It seems, when I was hurried away so, they recorded me as a pre-munired person, though I was never brought to hear the sentence or knew of it; which was very illegal. For they ought not only to have had me present to hear the sentence given, but also to have asked me first what I could say why sentence should not be given against me. But they knew I had so much to say, that they could not give sentence if they heard it.

While I was prisoner at Lancaster there was a great noise and talk of the Turk's overspreading Christendom, and great fears entered many. But one day as I was walking in my prison chamber I saw the Lord's power turn against him, and that he was turning back again. And I declared to some what the Lord had let me see, when there were such fears of his over-running Christendom; and, within a month after, the news-books came down, wherein it was mentioned that they had given him a defeat.

Another time, as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the Court had been all of a fire. Not long after, the wars brake out with Holland, and the sickness brake forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed.

Now by reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was grown very weak in body; but the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for Him and for His truth and people, as the place would admit. For while I was in Lancaster prison I answered several books.

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After the Assize, Colonel Kirkby and some other justices were very uneasy with my being at Lancaster; for I had galled them sore at my trials there, and they laboured much to get me removed to some remote place. Colonel Kirkby threatned I should be sent far enough, and beyond sea. About six weeks after the Assizes, they got an order from the King and Council to remove me from Lancaster; and with it they brought a letter from the Earl of Anglesea, wherein was written that if those things were found true against me, which I was charged

withal, I deserved no clemency or mercy: yet the greatest matter they had against me was because I could not disobey the command of Christ and swear.

When they had prepared for my removal, the under-sheriff and the head-sheriff's man, with some bailiffs, came and fetched me out of the Castle, when I was so weak with lying in that cold, wet, and smoky prison, that I was not able to go or stand. They had me into the jailer's house, where were William Kirkby, a justice, and several others, and they called for wine to give me. I told them I would have none of their wine. Then they cried, "Bring out the horses." I desired them first to shew me a copy of their order, if they intended to remove me; but they would shew me none but their swords. I told them there was no sentence passed upon me, nor was I premunired, that I knew of; and therefore I was not made the King's prisoner, but was the sheriff's; for they and all the country knew that I was not fully heard at the last Assize, nor suffered to shew the errors that were in the indictment, which were sufficient to quash it, though they had kept me from one Assize to another, to the end they might try me. Instead of shewing me their order, they haled me out, and lifted me upon one of the sheriff's horses. When I was on horseback in the street, the town's-people being gathered to gaze upon me, I told the officers I had received neither Christianity, civility, nor humanity from them. They hurried me away about fourteen miles to Bentham, though I was so very weak I was hardly able to sit on horseback; and my clothes smelt so of smoke, that they were loathsome to myself. The wicked jailer, one Hunter,¹ a young man, would come and give the horse a whip, and make him skip and leap; so that I being weak, had much ado to sit him; and then he would come and look me in the face, and say, "How do you, Mr. Fox?" I told him it was not civil in him to do so. The Lord cut him off soon after.

When we were come to Bentham, there met us many troopers, and a marshal; and many of the gentry of the country were come in, and abundance of people to stare at me. I being very weak and weary desired them to let me lie down on a bed, which the soldiers permitted me; for they that brought me thither gave their order to the marshal, and he set a guard of his soldiers upon me. When they had stayed a while they pressed horses, and raised the bailiff of the hundred, and the constables and others, and had me to Giggleswick that night; but an exceed-

¹ Randolph Hunter, "deputy-gaoler."

ing weak man I was. There they raised the constables with their clog-shoes, who sate drinking all the night in the room by me, so that I could not get much rest. Next day we came to a market-town, where several Friends called to see me; and Robert Widders and divers Friends came to me on the road. The next night I asked the soldiers whither they intended to carry me, and whither I was to be sent. Some of them said, "Beyond sea"; others said, "To Tynemouth Castle." A great fear there was amongst them, lest some one should rescue me out of their hands; but that fear was needless.

Next night we came to York, where the marshal put me up into a great chamber, where most part of two troops came to see me. One of these troopers, an envious man, hearing that I was premunired, asked me what estate I had, and whether it was copyhold or free land. I took no notice of his question, but was moved to declare the word of life to the soldiers, and many of them were very loving. At night the Lord Frecheville,¹ who commanded these horse, came to me, and was very civil and loving. I gave him an account of my imprisonment, and declared many things to him relating to Truth. They kept me at York two days, and then the marshal and four or five soldiers were sent to convey me to Scarborough Castle. Indeed these were very civil men, and carried themselves civilly and lovingly to me. When we were come to Scarborough, they had me to an inn, and gave notice to the governor, who sent six soldiers to be my guard that night. Next day they conducted me into the Castle, put me into a room, and set a sentry on me. Being so very weak and subject to fainting, they let me go out sometimes into the air with the sentry. They soon removed me out of this room, and put me into an open one, where the rain came in; it smoked exceedingly, which was very offensive to me.

One day the governor, Sir Jos. Crosland,² came to see me, and brought with him Sir Francis Cobb. I desired the governor to go into my room, and see what a place I had. I had got a little fire made in it, and it was so filled with smoke that when he was in it he could hardly find his way out again; and he being a Papist, I told him that was his Purgatory which they had put me into. I was forced to lay out a matter of fifty shillings to stop out the rain and keep the room from smoking so much. When I had been at that charge, and made the room somewhat tolerable, they removed me into a worse room, where I had neither chimney

¹ John, Baron Frescheville, was governor of York.

² Sir *Jordan* Crosland (c. 1620-1670).

nor fire-hearth. This being to the sea-side and lying much open, the wind drove in the rain forcibly, so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to skim it up with a platter. And when my clothes were wet, I had no fire to dry them; so that my body was numbed with cold, and my fingers swelled, that one was grown as big as two. Though I was at some charge on this room also, I could not keep out the wind and rain. Besides they would suffer few Friends to come to me, and many times not any, no, not so much as to bring me a little food; but I was forced for the first quarter to hire one of the world to bring me necessaries. Sometimes the soldiers would take it from her, and she would fight with them for it. Afterwards I hired a soldier to fetch me water and bread, and something to make a fire when I was in a room where a fire could be made. A threepenny loaf served me three weeks, and sometimes longer, and most of my drink was water with worm-wood steeped or bruised in it. One time when the weather was very cold, and I had taken great cold, I got a little elicampane beer, and I heard one of the soldiers say to the other that they would play me a pretty trick, for they would send for me up to the deputy-governor, and in the meantime drink my strong beer out; and so they did. When I came back, one of the soldiers came to me in a jeer and asked me for some strong beer. I told him they had played their pretty trick; and so I took no further notice of it.

They kept me so very strait, not giving liberty for Friends to come to me. But though they would not let Friends come to me, they would often bring others, either to gaze upon me or to contend with me. One time a great company of Papists came to discourse with me; they affirmed the Pope was infallible, and had stood infallible ever since Peter's time. But I shewed them the contrary by history; for one of the bishops of Rome (Marcellinus by name) denied the faith and sacrificed to idols; therefore he was not infallible. I told them if they were in the infallible spirit, they need not have jails, swords and staves, racks and tortures, fires and faggots, whips and gallows, to hold up their religion by, and to destroy men's lives about it; for if they were in the infallible spirit they would preserve men's lives, and use none but spiritual weapons about religion. I told them also what one that had been of their society told me. It was a woman who lived in Kent, and had not only been a Papist herself, but had brought over several to that religion; but coming to be convinced of God's truth and turned by it to Christ, her

Saviour, she exhorted the Papists to the same. One of them, a tailor, being at work at her house, while she opened to him the falseness of the Popish religion, and endeavoured to draw him from it to the truth, drew his knife at her and got between her and the door; but she spake boldly to him, and bid him put up his knife, for she knew his principle. I asked the woman what she thought he would have done with his knife. She said he would have stabbed her. "Stab thee!" said I, "what would he have stabbed thee for? thy religion?" "Yes," said she, "it is the principle of the Papists, if any turn from their religion to kill them if they can." This story I told those Papists, and that I had it from a person that had been one of them, but had forsaken their principles and discovered their practices. They did not deny this to be their principle; but said what! would I declare this abroad. I told them yes, such things ought to be declared abroad; that it might be known how contrary their religion was to true Christianity. Whereupon they went away in a great rage.

Another Papist came to discourse with me, who said all the patriarchs were in hell, from the creation till Christ came, and that when Christ suffered He went into hell, and the Devil said to Him, "What comest thou hither for? To break open our strongholds?" And Christ said, "To fetch them all out." So he said Christ was three nights and three days in hell, to bring them out. I told him that was false, for Christ said to the thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise." And Enoch and Elijah were translated into heaven. And Abraham was in heaven, for the Scripture saith that Lazarus was in his bosom; and Moses and Elias were with Christ upon the Mount before He suffered. These instances stopped the Papist's mouth, and put him to a stand.

Another time came Dr. Witty,¹ who was esteemed a great doctor of physic, with Lord Falconbridge;² with these came also the governor of Tynemouth Castle,³ and several knights. Being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me what I was in prison for. I told him, "Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear." He said I ought to swear my allegiance to the King. Now he being a great Presbyterian, I asked him whether he had not sworn against the King, and House of Lords, and taken the Scotch

¹ Robert Wittie, M.D., of Hull, and later of York.

² Thomas Belasyse, second Viscount Fauconberg.

³ Colonel Edward Villiers.

covenant, and had he not since sworn to the King, and what then was his swearing good for. "My allegiance," I told him, "does not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness." After some further discourse, I was sent away to my prison again. And afterwards this Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients that he had conquered me. When I heard of his boasting, I told the governor it was a small boast in him to say he had conquered a bondman. I desired to bid him come to me again when he came to the Castle.

He came again a while after, with a matter of sixteen or seventeen great persons; and ran himself worse on ground than before. For he affirmed before them all that Christ had not enlightned every man that cometh into the world; and that the grace of God, that brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men; and that Christ had not died for all men. I asked him what sort of men those were whom Christ had not enlightned, and to whom His grace had not appeared, and for whom He had not died. He said, "Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolaters, and wicked men." I asked him whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners. He said, "Yes." "And did not Christ die for sinners?" said I. "Did He not come to call sinners to repentance?" "Yes," said he. "Then," said I, "thou hast stopped thy own mouth." So I proved that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned it into wantonness, and walked despightfully against it; and that Christ had enlightned all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people that were present confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me.

Another time the governor brought a priest, but his mouth was soon stopped. Not long after he brought two or three Parliament-men, who asked me whether I owned ministers and bishops. I told them yes, such as Christ sent, such as had freely received, and would freely give, such as were qualified, and were in the same power and Spirit that they were in in the apostles' days. But such bishops and teachers as theirs were, that would go no farther than a great benefice, I did not own; for they were not like the apostles. "Christ saith to His ministers, 'Go ye into all nations and preach the gospel'; but ye Parliament-men, who keep your priests and bishops in such great fat benefices, ye have spoiled them all. For do ye think they will go into all nations to preach; or any farther than they have a great fat benefice? Judge yourselves whether they will or no."

There came another time the widow of him who was called the

old Lord Fairfax,¹ and with her a great company, one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them; and the priest asked me why we said Thou and Thee to people, for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so. I asked him whether they that translated the Scriptures, and that made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scripture so, and made the grammar so—Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it so to us. If they were fools and idiots, why had not he, and such as he, that looked upon themselves as wise men, and that could not bear Thou and Thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular. But if they were wise men that had so translated the Bible, and had made the grammar and accidence so, I wished him to consider whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that did not speak as their grammars and Bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so. Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, and many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some of them would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

After this came one called Dr. Cradock, with three priests more, and the governor and his lady² and another lady, and a great company with them. Dr. Cradock asked me what I was in prison for. I told him for obeying the command of Christ and the Apostle, in not swearing. But if he, being both a doctor and a justice of peace, could convince me that after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, they commanded Christians to swear, then I would swear. Here was the Bible, I told him, he might, if he could, shew me any such command. He said, "It is written, 'Ye shall swear in truth and righteousness.'" "Ay," said I, "it was written so in Jeremiah's time; but that was many ages before Christ commanded not to swear at all; but where is it written so since Christ forbade all swearing? I could bring as many instances for swearing out of the Old Testament as thou, and it may be more; but of what force are they to prove swearing lawful in the New Testament, since Christ and the Apostle had forbade it? Besides," said I, "in that text, where it is written, 'Ye shall swear,' what ye was this? Was it ye Gentiles, or ye Jews?" To this he would not

¹ Probably Rhoda, second wife and widow of Ferdinando, second Baron Fairfax.

² Sir Jordan Crosland married Bridget, eldest daughter of John Fleming of Rydal.

answer. But one of the priests that were with him answered, "It was to the Jews that this was spoken." Then Dr. Cradock confessed it was so. "Very well," said I, "but where did God ever give a command to the Gentiles to swear? For thou knowest that we are Gentiles by nature." "Indeed," said he, "in the gospel-times everything was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses; but there was to be no swearing then." "Why then," said I, "dost thou force oaths upon Christians, contrary to thy own knowledge, in the gospel-times? And why dost thou excommunicate my friends?" (For he had excommunicated abundance, both in Yorkshire and Lancashire.) He said, "For not coming to church." "Why!" said I, "ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods and persecuted us, because we would not follow them. Now we, being but young, knew little then of your principles; and if ye had intended to keep the old men that did know them, to you, and your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, and collects, and homilies, and evening-songs. (For Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison.) But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies or epistles we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done: that is, ye have put us out of your Church before ye have got us into it, and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if ye had brought us into your Church, and when we had been in, if we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But," said I, "what dost thou call the church?" "Why," said he, "that which you call the steeple-house." Then I asked him whether Christ shed His blood for the steeple-house; and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with His blood. "And seeing the Church is Christ's bride and wife, and that He is the head of the Church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that He is the head of that old house, or His people?" "No," said he, "Christ is the head of the people, and they are the Church." Then said I, "But you have given the title *church*, which belongs to the people, to an old house, and you have taught people to believe so."

I asked him also why he persecuted Friends for not paying

tithes. And whether God ever gave a command to the Gentiles that they should pay tithes. And whether Christ had not ended tithes when He ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes. And whether Christ, when He sent forth His disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely, as He had given them freely. And whether all ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command of Christ. He said he would not dispute that; neither did I find he was willing to stay on that subject, for he presently turned to another matter, and said, "You marry, but I know not how." I replied, "It may be so; but why dost thou not come and see?" Then he threatned that he would use his power against us as he had done. I bid him take heed, for he was an old man. I asked him also where he read from Genesis to the Revelations that ever any priest did marry any. And I wished him to shew me some instance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; "for," said I, "thou hast excommunicated one of my friends, two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? Why dost thou not use thy power against these? for we do not read that they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and His people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women, that the Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side." Much discourse we had, but when he found he could get no advantage over me, he went away with his company.

With such people I was much exercised while I was there; for most that came to the Castle would desire to speak with me, and great disputes and reasonings I had with them. But, as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive: for though many came from far to see me, yet few were suffered to come at me: and when any Friend came into the Castle about business, if he looked but towards me they would rage at him. At last the governor came under some trouble himself, for he, having sent out a privateer to sea, they took some ships that were not enemies' ships, but their friends'; whereupon he was brought into trouble; after which he grew somewhat more friendly to me. For before I had a marshal set over me, on purpose to get money out of me, but I was not free to give him a farthing; and when they found they could get nothing from me, he was taken away again. The officers often threatned that I should be hanged over the walls. Nay, the deputy-governor told me once that the King, knowing I had a great interest in the people,

had sent me thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang me over the walls to keep the people down. The governor growing kinder, I spake to him when he was to go to London to the Parliament, and desired him to speak to Esquire Marsh, Sir Francis Cobb, and some others; and let them know how long I had lain in prison and for what; and he did so. When he came down again, he told me that Esquire Marsh, that was one of the King's Esquires of his body, said he would go a hundred miles barefoot for my liberty, he knew me so well; and several others, he said, spake well of me. From which time the governor was very loving to me.

There were, amongst the prisoners, two very bad men, that often sate drinking with the officers and soldiers; and because I would not sit and drink with them too, it made them the worse against me. One time, when these two prisoners were drunk, one of them (whose name was William Wilkinson, a Presbyterian, who had been a captain) came to me and challenged me to fight with him. Seeing what condition he was in, I got out of his way; and, next morning, when he was more sober, shewed him how unmanly it was in him to challenge a man to fight, whose principle, he knew, it was not to strike; but if he was stricken on one ear to turn the other. I told him if he had a mind to fight, he should have challenged some of the soldiers, that could have answered him in his own way. But however, seeing he had challenged me, I was now come to answer him with my hands in my pockets; and (reaching my head towards him), "Here," said I, "here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back." With that he skipped away from me and went into another room; at which the soldiers fell a-laughing; and one of the officers said, "You are a happy man, that can bear such things." Thus he was conquered without a blow. After a while he took the oath, gave bond, and got out of prison; and the Lord soon cut him off in his wickedness.

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After I had lain prisoner above a year in Scarborough Castle I sent a letter to the King, in which I gave him an account of my imprisonment and the bad usage I had received in prison; and also that I was informed no man could deliver me but he.

After this, John Whitehead being at London, and having acquaintance with him that was called Esquire Marsh, went to visit him, and spake to him about me; and he undertook, if John Whitehead would get the state of my case drawn up, to

deliver it to the master of requests, whom he called Sir John Birkenhead, and endeavour to get a release for me. So John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of my imprisonment and sufferings, and carried it to Marsh; and he went with it to the master of requests, who procured an order from the King for my release.

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As soon as this order was delivered to the governor, he gathered the officers together, discharged me freely, and gave me the following certificate:

Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner in Scarborough Castle, and now discharged by His Majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions, without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough Castle, this first day of September, 1666.

J. CROSLAND,
Governour of Scarbro' Castle.

After I was released, I would have made the governor a present for the civility and kindness he had of late shewed me; but he would not receive anything, saying whatever good he could do for me and my friends he would do it, and never do them any hurt. And afterwards, if at any time the mayor of the town sent to him for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, if he sent any down he would privately give them a charge "not to meddle." He continued loving to his dying day. The officers also and the soldiers were mightily changed and grown very respectful to me, and when they had occasion to speak of me, they would say, "He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we could never stir him."

The very next day after my release the fire brake out in London, and the report of it came quickly down into the country. Then I saw the Lord God was true and just in His word, which He had shewed me before in Lancaster jail, when I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering sword drawn southward, as before expressed.

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CHAPTER XVIII

SETTLEMENT OF MONTHLY MEETINGS

1666-1669

BEING now freed from my imprisonment in Scarborough Castle, I went about three miles to a large general meeting at a Friend's house, that had been a chief constable; and all was quiet and well. On the Fourth-day after, I returned to Scarborough, and had a meeting in the town at Peter Hodgson's house. To this came a lady, and several other great persons, also a young man, son to the bailiff of the town, who had been convinced while I was there in prison. And he began to dispute and spake Hebrew to me and I spake in Welsh to him, and bid him fear God, who after became a pretty Friend.¹

From hence I went to Marmaduke Storr's, and had a large meeting at a constable's house, on whom the Lord had wrought a great miracle.

Next day, two Friends being to take each other in marriage (and there came hundreds of beggars, and Friends refreshed them instead of the rich), there was a very great meeting, which I was at. I was moved to open to the people the state of our marriages, declaring how the people of God took one another in the assemblies of the Elders, and that it was God who joined man and woman together before the fall. And though men had taken upon them to join in the fall, yet in the restoration it was God's joining that was the right and honourable marriage: but never any priest did marry any, that we read of in the Scriptures from Genesis to the Revelations. Then I shewed them the duty of man and wife, how they should serve God, being heirs of life and grace together.

I passed thence to a priest's house, whose wife was convinced, and himself grown very loving and glad to see me. This was that priest who, in the year 1651,² threatned if ever he met me again, he would have my life or I should have his; and said he would lose

¹ William Robinson was junior bailiff. Jonathan Robinson, a Friend, of Scarborough, may have been the son mentioned.

² See page 47.

his head if I were not knocked down in a month's time, who was now very loving and convinced of God's eternal truth.

Passing on, I called to see an ancient man, who was convinced of Truth, and was above a hundred years old. Then I came to Howden Dyke. As we went into the town the watchmen questioned me and those that were with me; but not having any warrant to stay us, we passed by them, who in a rage threatned they would search us out. I went to the house of one that was called the Lady Montague, where I lodged that night; and several friends came to visit me. Next morning, being up betimes, I walked into the orchard, and saw a man about sunrise go into the house in a great cloak. He stayed not long, but came soon out again, and went away, not seeing me. I felt something strike at my life, and went into the house, where I found the maid-servant affrighted and trembling. She told me that man had a naked rapier under his cloak. By which I perceived he came with an intent to do mischief, but the Lord prevented his wickedness.

I then visited Friends till I came to York. After which I went to visit Justice Robinson, an ancient justice of the peace, who had been very loving to me and Friends from the beginning. There was a priest with him, who told me it was said of us that we loved none but ourselves. I told him we loved all mankind, as they were God's creation and as they were children of Adam and Eve by generation; and we loved the brotherhood in the Holy Ghost. This stopped him. After some other discourse we parted friendly and passed away.

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Having visited Friends at York, we passed to a market town, where we had a meeting at George Watkinson's, formerly a justice. We should have been troubled to get into this town, had not Providence made way for us; for the watchmen stood ready to stop us. But a man riding just before us, the watchmen questioned him first, and perceiving he was a justice of peace, they let him pass; and we riding close after him by that means escaped.

From this place we passed to Thomas Taylor's, formerly a captain,¹ where we had a precious meeting. Hard by Thomas Taylor's lived a knight, who was much displeased when he heard I was likely to be released out of prison; and threatned that if the King set me at liberty he would send me to prison

¹ Captain Thomas Taylor (c. 1621-1684) lived at Brighthouse.

again the next day. But though I had this meeting so near him, yet the Lord's power stopped him from meddling, and our meeting was quiet. Colonel Kirkby also, who had been the chief means of my imprisonment at Lancaster and Scarborough Castles, when he heard I was set at liberty, got another order for taking me up; and said he would ride his horse forty miles to take me, and would give forty pounds to have me taken. Yet a while after I came so near as to have a meeting within two miles of him; he was then struck with the gout, and kept his bed, so that it was thought he would have died.

From Thomas Taylor's I visited Friends till I came to Synderhill Green,¹ where I had a large general meeting. The priest of the place, hearing of it, sent the constable to the justices for a warrant, and they rode their horses so hard that they almost spoiled them; but the notice they had being short, and the way long, the meeting was ended before they came. I heard not of them till I was going out of the house after meeting was over, and then a Friend came and told me they were searching another house for me, the one I was then going to. As I went along the closes to it, I met the constables, wardens, and the justice's clerk. I passed through them; they looked at me, and went to the house they had been searching. Thus the Devil and the priest lost their design; for the Lord's power bound them, and preserved me over them; and Friends parted, and all escaped them. The officers went away as they came, for the Lord had frustrated their design; praised be His name for ever.

I travelled into Nottinghamshire, and then, passing through the forest in a mighty thundering and rainy day, I came to Nottingham. So great was the tempest that many trees were torn up by the roots, and some people that came from the market killed; but the Lord preserved us. On the First-day following I had a large meeting in Nottingham, very quiet; Friends were come to sit under their Teacher, the Grace of God, which brought them salvation, and were established upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus. After the meeting I went to visit the Friend² who had been sheriff about the year 1649, whose prisoner I had then been.

Thus after I had passed through many counties, visiting Friends, and had many large and precious meetings amongst

¹ Cinder Hill, near Woodhouse, on the border of Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

² John Reckless (*d.* 1679)

them, I came at last to London. But I was so weak with lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonments, my joints and my body were so stiff and numbed, that I could hardly get on my horse or bend my knees; nor could I hardly endure fire or warm meat, I had been kept so long from it. Being come to London, I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them. I saw the city lying according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before.

About this time some that had run out from Truth and clashed against Friends were reached unto by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over, and made them condemn and tear their papers of controversies to pieces. Several meetings we had with them, and the Lord's everlasting power was over all and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had run out with John Perrot and others came in again, and condemned that spirit which led them to keep on their hats when Friends prayed, and when they themselves prayed. Some of them said that Friends were more righteous than they, and that if Friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition. Thus the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, and came over all.

Then I was moved of the Lord God to set up and establish five monthly meetings of men and women in the City of London (besides the women's meeting and the quarterly meeting), to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to Truth. For whereas Friends had had only quarterly meetings, now Truth was spread and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of monthly meetings throughout the nation. And the Lord opened to me and let me see what I must do, and how I must order the men's and women's monthly and quarterly meetings and establish them in this and in other nations; and that I should write to those where I came not, to do the same. After things were well settled at London, and the Lord's truth, and power, and seed, and life reigned and shined over all in the City, I went into Essex. After the monthly meetings were settled in that county, I went into Suffolk and Norfolk, Thomas Dry being with me. When we had visited Friends in those parts, and the monthly meetings were settled,

we went into Huntingdonshire, where we had very large and blessed gatherings; and though we met with some opposition, the Lord's power came over all, and the monthly meetings were established there also. When we came into Bedfordshire we had great opposition, but the Lord's power came over it all. Afterwards we went into Nottinghamshire, where the monthly meetings were settled there. Then passing into Lincolnshire we had a meeting of some men Friends of all the meetings in the county at his house who had formerly been sheriff of Lincoln, and all was quiet. After this we passed over Trent into Nottinghamshire again, the ex-sheriff of Lincoln being with me, where we had some of all the meetings in that county together.

Thence we passed to Leicestershire and Warwickshire and Derbyshire, and travelling over the Peak Hills which were very cold (for it was then frost and snow), we came into Staffordshire. At Thomas Hammersley's we had a general men's meeting, where things were settled in the gospel order and the monthly meetings established also.

I was so exceeding weak, I was hardly able to get on or off my horse's back, but my spirit being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in and sent me about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord that He would carry me through as He did by His power.

We came into Cheshire where we had a general men's meeting wherein all the monthly meetings for that county were settled. After I had cleared myself there I passed into Lancashire, and there all the monthly meetings were established.

From thence I sent papers into Westmorland, Bishoprick, Cleveland, Northumberland, Cumberland and Scotland to exhort Friends to settle the monthly meetings in the Lord's power in those places, which they did.

I passed into Shropshire and from thence into Wales, and the monthly meetings were established also. Then coming into Worcestershire, after many meetings amongst Friends in that county, we had a general men's meeting, where also the monthly meetings were settled in gospel order.

At Shrewsbury we had a very precious meeting. The mayor hearing that I was in town, got the rest of the officers together to consult what to do against me, for they said, "The great Quaker of England is come to town"; but being divided among themselves I escaped their hands.

We passed into Herefordshire and Monmouthshire and into

Gloucestershire, where we had a general men's meeting at Nathaniel Cripps's house, where all the monthly meetings were settled. Many blessed gatherings we had up and down in that county before we came to Bristol.

As I was lying in bed at Bristol, the word of the Lord came to me that I must go back to London. So I gave up to return to London, for which way the Lord moved and led me thither I went in His power. Leaving Bristol we passed into Wiltshire and established the men's monthly meetings there, and visited Friends till we came to London.

After I had visited Friends in the City and had staid there a while, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that so care might be taken to prevent those disorders that had been committed by some. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations' minds; and some young, raw people that came amongst us had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when Truth was but little spread over the nation, advising Friends who might be concerned in that case that they might lay it before the faithful in time, before anything was concluded, and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, they being free from all others and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other, in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses. Yet these directions not being observed, and Truth being now more spread over the nation, it was therefore ordered, by the same power and spirit of God, that marriages should be laid before the men's monthly and quarterly meetings, or as the meetings were then established; that Friends might see that the relations of those that proceeded to marriage were satisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children before they married again; and what else was needful to be inquired into, that all things might be kept clean and pure, and be done in righteousness to the glory of God. Afterwards it was ordered, in the same wisdom of God, that if either of the parties that intended to marry came out of another nation, county, or monthly meeting, they should

bring a certificate from the monthly meeting to which they belonged, for the satisfaction of the monthly meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage.

These things, with many other services for God, being set in order, and settled in the Churches in the City, I passed out of London in the leadings of the Lord's power. Then, returning towards London by Waltham, I advised the setting up of a school there for teaching children; and also a women's school at Shacklewell, for instructing young lassies and maidens in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation.

I came to London again and then went into Buckinghamshire, where the men's monthly meetings for that county were established. Then after the monthly meetings were settled there in the order of the gospel and upon the foundation of Christ Jesus, I went into Oxfordshire. And there being a general meeting, where some from all the meetings were present, the monthly meetings for that county were then settled, and Friends were very glad of them.

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We came to a place near Minehead, where we had a general meeting of the men Friends in Somersetshire. There came also a cheat, whom some friendly people would have had me to take along with me. I saw he was a cheat; and therefore bid them bring him to me, and see whether he could look me in the face. Some Friends were thinking I was too hard-hearted because I would not let him go along with me; but when they brought him to me he was not able to look me in the face, but looked hither and thither; for he had cheated a priest by pretending to be a minister; he had got the priest's suit and went away with it.

After the meeting we passed to Minehead, where we tarried that night. In the night I had an exercise upon me, from a sense of a dark spirit working and striving to get up to disturb the Church of Christ. Next morning I was moved to write a few lines to Friends as a warning thereof, as follows:

DEAR FRIENDS,—Live in the power of the Lord God, in His Seed that is set over all, and is over all trials that you may have with the dark spirit, which would be owned in its actings and thrust itself amongst you; which is not come as yet: but in the power of the Lord God, and His Seed, keep over it, and bring it to condemnation. For I felt a kind of dark spirit thrusting itself up towards you, and heaving up, last night; but you may keep it down with

the power of God, that the witness may arise to condemn its actings so far as it hath spread its dark works, before it have any admittance. So no more, but my love in the Seed of God, which changeth not.

G. F.

Minehead in Somersetshire,
the 22nd of the 4th Month, 1668.

Next day, several Friends of Minehead accompanied us into Devonshire and Cornwall, where we visited Friends till we came to Land's End. Then coming up by the south part of this county we came to Tregangeeves, where, at Loveday Hambly's, we had a general meeting for all the county, in which the monthly meetings were settled. Several that had run out were brought to condemn what they had done amiss, and through repentance came in again.

After things were well settled we came into Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, where the men's monthly meetings were settled. Then we came to Southampton, where the general men's meeting for Hampshire was appointed and the monthly meetings settled. But there came a rude company that were run into Ranterism and had opposed much our meetings. Though they were Ranters, the people of the world said they were Quakers, so I was moved of the Lord to give forth a paper to the justices and people of Hampshire to clear ourselves and Truth of these lewd people and their wicked actions.

After this I visited Friends in their meetings in Sussex and Kent and came up to London.

Thus were the men's monthly meetings settled throughout the nation, that all might take care of God's glory, and admonish and exhort such as did not walk as became the gospel, that it made a great cry in the country, insomuch as the very justices took notice of their usefulness, and said never such a man came into their country that had reconciled neighbour to neighbour and husband to wife, and turned many people from their loose lives.

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I wrote also into Ireland by faithful Friends, and into Scotland, Holland, Barbados and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's monthly meetings in those countries, for they had their general quarterly meetings before.

Being returned to London, I stayed some time there visiting Friends' meetings in and about the City. While I was in London, I went one day to visit Esquire Marsh, who had shewed much kindness both to me and to Friends; I happened to go when he

was at dinner. He no sooner heard my name than he sent for me up and would have had me sit down with him to dinner; but I had not freedom to do so. Several great persons were at dinner with him; and he said to one of them who was a great Papist, "Here is a Quaker, whom you have not seen before." The Papist asked me whether I owned the christening of children. I told him there was no Scripture for any such practice. "What!" said he, "not for christening children?" I said, "Nay." I told him the one baptism by the one Spirit into one body we owned; but to throw a little water on a child's face, and say that was baptising and christening it, there was no Scripture for that. Then he asked me whether I did own the Catholic faith. I said yes, but added that neither the Pope nor the Papists were in that Catholic faith; for the true faith works by love and purifies the heart, and if they were in that faith that gives victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after they were dead. So I undertook to prove that neither Pope nor Papists that held a purgatory hereafter were in the true faith; for the true, precious, divine faith, which Christ is the author of, gives victory over the Devil and sin, that had separated man and woman from God. And if they (the Papists) were in the true faith, they would never use racks, prisons and fines to persecute and force others to their religion that were not of their faith. This was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians, who witnessed and enjoyed the true faith of Christ; but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and Heathens so to do.

"But," said I, "seeing thou art a great and leading man among the Papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the Pope, and seeing thou sayest there is no salvation but in our Church, I desire to know of thee, what it is that doth bring salvation in your Church." He answered, "A good life." "And nothing else?" said I. "Yes," he said. "Good works." "And is this it that brings salvation in your Church, a good life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle?" said I. "Yes," said he. "Then," said I, "neither thou, nor the Pope, nor any of the Papists know what it is that brings salvation." Then he asked me what brought salvation in our Church. I told him, "That which brought salvation to the Church in the apostles' days, the same brings salvation to us, and not another; namely, 'the grace of God, which,' the Scripture says, 'brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men,' which taught the saints then, and teaches us now. This grace which brings salva-

tion teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly, soberly and righteously. So it is not the good works nor the good life that brings salvation, but the grace." "What!" said the Papist, "doth this grace that brings salvation appear unto all men?" "Yes," said I. "Then," said he, "I deny that." But I said, "All that deny that are sect-makers, and are not in the universal faith, grace and truth which the apostles were in."

"For all who are born again of the immortal Seed by the Word of God which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the Word, the breasts of life, and grow by it in life, and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother but Jerusalem which is above." "Oh," said Esquire Marsh to the Papist, "you do not know this man; if he would but come to church now and then, he would be the bravest man that ever was."

After some other discourse, I went aside with Esquire Marsh into another room, to speak with him concerning Friends; for he was a justice of peace at Limehouse, and being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of matters upon him. He told me he was in a strait how to act between us and some other Dissenters. "For," said he, "you cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Monarchy people say also they cannot swear; therefore," said he, "how shall I know how to distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say it is for conscience sake that you cannot swear?" I answered, "I will shew thee how to distinguish. They, or most of them, thou speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows and horses, and thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear they were theirs, they would readily do it. But if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou puttest the oath of Allegiance to any of them, ask them whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse; which, if they be really of us, they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth." Hereupon I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus:

"A thief stole two beasts from a Friend of ours, the thief was taken and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the Assizes. But somebody having informed the judge that the prosecutor was a Quaker, and could not swear, the judge, before he heard what the Friend could say, said, 'Is he a

Quaker? and will he not swear? Then tender him the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.' So he cast the Friend into prison, and premunired him, and set the thief at liberty that had stolen his goods." Justice Marsh said, "That judge was a wicked man." "But," said I, "if we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of Allegiance to the King, who is to preserve the laws that preserve every man in his estate. Whereas others, that can swear in some cases to preserve a part of their estates, if they be robbed, will not take this oath to the King, who is to preserve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou mayest easily distinguish, and put a difference between us and those people."

Justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to Friends in this and other cases; for he stopped several, both Friends and others, from being premunired in those parts where he was a justice. When Friends were brought before him in time of persecution, he set many of them at liberty; and when he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours, or for a night. At length he went to the King, and told him he had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more. Wherefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near St. James's Park. He told the King that if he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience, that would knock down all at one blow; for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy. And indeed he was a very serviceable man to Truth and Friends in his day.

We had great service at London this year; the Lord's truth came over all, and a meeting was set up of condemnation, that if any one had anything to say they might come and testify to the truth, and many that had gone out from Truth came in again, confessing and condemning their outgoings.

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CHAPTER XIX

VISIT TO IRELAND

1669

Now was I moved of the Lord to go over into Ireland, to visit the seed of God in that nation. There went with me Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs. We waited near Liverpool for shipping and wind. After waiting some days we sent James Lancaster to take passage, which he did, and brought news the ship was ready, and would take us in at Black Rock. We went thither on foot; and it being some distance, and the weather very hot, I was well-nigh sweltered. When we arrived, the ship was not there; so we were fain to go to the town and take shipping. When we were on board, I said to the rest of my company, "Come, ye will triumph in the Lord, for we shall have fair wind and weather." Many passengers in the ship were sick, but not one of our five. The master and many of the passengers were very loving; and we being at sea on the First-day of the week, I was moved to declare Truth among them; whereupon the master said to the passengers, "Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives."

When we came before Dublin we took boat and went ashore; and the earth and air smelt, methought, of the corruption of the nation, so that it gave another smell to me than England did; which I imputed to the Popish massacres that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended. We passed through among the officers of the customs four times, yet they did not search us; for they perceived what we were. Some of them were so envious they did not care to look at us. We did not presently¹ find Friends; but went to an inn and sent out to inquire for some; who when they came to us were exceeding glad of our coming, and received us with great joy. We stayed there the weekly meeting, which was a great one, and the power and life of God appeared greatly in it. Afterwards we passed to a province meeting, which lasted two days, there being a men's meeting about the

¹ That is, at once

poor, and another general meeting, in which a mighty power of the Lord appeared. Truth was very precious and Friends were much refreshed.

Passing thence about four and twenty miles, we came to another place where we had a very good refreshing meeting, but after it some Papists that were there were angry, and raged very much. When I heard of it, I sent for one of them, who was a schoolmaster; but he would not come. Whereupon I sent a challenge to him, with all the friars and monks, priests and Jesuits, to come forth, and try their God and their Christ, which they had made of bread and wine, but no answer could I get from them. Wherefore I told them they were worse than the priests of Baal; for Baal's priests tried their wooden god which they had made, but these durst not try their god of bread and wine; and Baal's priests and people did not eat their god as these did, and then make another.

Then we travelled on among Friends till we came to Bandon, where the mayor's wife, being convinced, desired her husband to come to the meeting; but he bid her, for her life, not to make known that I was at a meeting there.

He that was then mayor of Cork was very envious against Truth and Friends, and had many Friends in prison; and knowing that I was in the country, he had issued four warrants to take me; wherefore Friends were desirous that I might not ride through Cork. But being at Bandon, there appeared to me in a vision, as I was getting up and dressing myself, a very ugly-visaged man, black and dark. I struck at him in the power of God, and I rode over him with my horse, and my horse put his foot on the side of his cheek. When I came down I told a Friend that was with me that the command of the Lord was to me to ride through Cork, but bade him tell no creature. So we took horse, many Friends being with me; and when we came near the town, they would have shewed me a way on the backside of the town; but I told them my way was through the streets, and they told me the way was so slippery in the height of the market that I could not go and my horse could not stand, and I said that was but little. And so I called to them that rode with me, which of them would ride through the town with me, and all the rest stay behind. Wherefore taking one of them along with me, whose name was Paul Morris, to guide me through the town, I rode on; and as we rode through the market-place, and by the mayor's door, he seeing me ride by, said, "There goes George Fox," and he had no power to stop me. But, oh, what a fire

there was in the hearts and spirits of people when I rode through the town, I being generally known; they looked and peeped. And so when I came near the prison, the prisoners saw me and knew me, and trembled for fear, lest I should be taken. When we had passed through the sentinels, and were come over the bridge, we went to a Friend's house and alighted. There the Friends told me what a rage was in the town, and how many warrants were granted to take me. While I was sitting there with Friends, I felt the evil spirit at work in the town, stirring up mischief against me, and so I rose up and struck at it in the power of God, and immediately some Friends coming in told me that it was all over the town, and amongst the magistrates, that I was in the town. I said, "Let the Devil do his worst." After a while I called for my coat and my horse, and a Friend to guide me, and we went on our way. But pitiful was the rage that the mayor and others of Cork were in that they had missed me; and great pains they afterwards took to take me, having their scouts abroad upon the roads, as I understood, to observe which way I went. Afterwards there was scarcely a public meeting I came to but spies came to watch if I were there. And the envious magistrates and priests sent informations one to another concerning me, describing me by my hair, hat, clothes and horse, so that, when I was near a hundred miles from Cork, they had an account concerning me, and description of me, before I came amongst them.

One very envious magistrate, who was both a priest and a justice, got a warrant from the judge of the Assize to apprehend me; which warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached near a hundred miles. Yet the Lord disappointed all their counsels, and defeated all their designs against me, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread Truth through that nation. For meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near, and the world's people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was preciousely felt with and amongst us; whereby many of the world were reached, convinced, and gathered to the truth; the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. Oh! the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! So that, in the power and spirit of the Lord many brake out into singing together, even with an audible voice, making melody in their hearts.

And so I passed to another province, and went to the general meeting which lasted two days, where there was horse and foot

like a fair. And from thence I passed to the Fox's country, who claimed kindred, but I told them my kindred were them that stood in the life and power of God.

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And from thence I passed northward, and lying at a Friend's house I felt the evil spirit to work again to purpose. Being always on the watch I saw, as it were, a grim, black fellow who was fettering of my legs with a cord, that I had much ado to preserve my feet from him. I was pitifully burdened with the wicked spirit.

So we passed on and came to Grange, where we had a great meeting, and from thence we passed almost thirty miles further and there I felt the wicked spirit extremely mad. The judge's warrant was to go over all his circuit, which reached nigh a hundred miles, and in it was my hat and my hair and my clothes and my horse. And so I went into a town and Friends came to me. I said, "Let the Devil do his worst; but nevertheless be ready in the morning by two of the clock, for I shall stay for none of you." This, many times, was our usual hour, though we were up till the eleventh hour.

So I passed along, taking one Friend with me, and letting the rest come after. The Friend said, "George, we will not bait in the town, for the bishop and his deacon live in the town," who had a hand in the pursuit against me. And when we were alighted and looked at the window I espied Friends coming up; one said, "Alack! The bishop lives here and the deacon in the next house." So I said, "Never heed. The power of the Lord God is over them." And in a little time we passed away and overtook the rest.

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And so I passed through the country and came into the judge's circuit where the former warrants reached, but all was quiet. We came to an inn ten miles further, and there all night I could not sleep for Tories,¹ I was so troubled about them. At last I passed through a very dangerous river and saw them on the other side and smiled at them that I had escaped them.

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So when I had cleared all, I came to Dublin again, for we did believe that after the great meeting was done the wind would

¹ Tories were "bands of Irish soldiers who refused to submit or emigrate, and who murdered any new colonists they could surprise and stole their cattle."

turn. And I went out and told James Lancaster, "The wind is for us, now all the business in the nation is over"; for it was against us this morning.

And so when I came to Dublin I lodged near Lazy Hill, and having sent James afore to take shipping, next day the ship was ready. He met a man, a soldier, by the way, that was troubled that he was not at the great meeting, saying that he had heard of such a man as was never known to come out of England. So Truth had such a savour amongst all people.

At which time I was moved to declare to Friends there in the ministry as follows:

Sound, sound abroad, ye faithful servants of the Lord, and witnesses in His name, ye prophets of the Highest, and angels of the Lord! Sound ye all abroad in the world, to the awakening and raising of the dead, that they may be awakened, and raised up out of the grave, to hear the voice that is living. For the dead have long heard the dead, the blind have long wandered among the blind, and the deaf amongst the deaf. Therefore sound, sound, ye servants, prophets, and angels of the Lord, ye trumpets of the Lord, that ye may awaken the dead, and awaken them that be asleep in their graves of sin, death, and hell, and sepulchres and sea and earth, and who lie in the tombs. Sound, sound abroad, ye trumpets, and raise up the dead, that they may hear the voice of the Son of God; the voice of the second Adam that never fell; the voice of the Light, and the voice of the Life; the voice of the Power, and the voice of Truth; the voice of the Righteous, and the voice of the Just. Sound, sound the pleasant and melodious sound; sound, sound ye the trumpets, the melodious sound abroad, that all the deaf ears may be opened to hear the pleasant sound of the trumpet to Judgment and Life, to Condemnation and Light.

G. F.

A ship being ready and the wind serving, we took our leave of Friends, parting in much tenderness and brokenness in the sense of the heavenly life and power manifested amongst us. So having put our horses and necessaries on board in the morning, we went ourselves in the afternoon, the best part of a hundred Friends accompanying us to the ship; and divers, both Friends and friendly people, came after us in boats when we were near a league at sea, their love drawing them, though not without danger. But I felt the power of darkness twenty miles afterwards, as I was at sea. A good, weighty and true people there is in that nation, sensible of the power of the Lord God and tender of His truth; and very good order they have in their meetings, for they stand up for righteousness and holiness, which dams up

the way of wickedness. A precious visitation they had, and there is an excellent spirit in them, worthy to be visited. Many things more I could write of that nation, and of my travels in it, which would be large to mention particularly; but this I have thought good to signify, that the righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of Truth.

James Lancaster, Robert Lodge and Thomas Briggs came back with me; John Stubbs having further service there, stayed behind. We were two nights at sea; in one of which a mighty storm arose, that put the vessel in great danger. It rained and blew. I was fain to watch the winds as I had watched the Tory priests. But I saw the power of God went over the winds and storms; He had them in His hand, and His power bound them. And the same power of the Lord God which carried us over brought us back again; and in His life gave us dominion over all the evil spirits that opposed us there.

We landed at Liverpool and went to Richard Johnson's. And when I was come to Liverpool the master of the ship raised a scandal that I stayed all night at Liverpool drinking, and this he reported when he came to Dublin. Friends hearing it (two of whom were eminent men and came over with me and knew that I did not stay above a quarter of an hour in that town) they made him to repent of his slander. And as he came back from Dublin his ship was cast away, and so the just judgments of God overtook him.

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CHAPTER XX

MARRIAGE AND SERVICE IN THE SOUTH

1669-1671

I HAD seen from the Lord a considerable time before that I should take Margaret Fell to be my wife. And when I first mentioned it to her, she felt the answer of life from God thereunto. But though the Lord had opened this thing to me, yet I had not received a command from the Lord for the accomplishment of it then, though people had long talked of it, and there was some jumble in some minds about it. Wherefore I let the thing rest, but now, being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children; which she did. When her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law if they had anything against it, or for it; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I asked Margaret if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children. She replied the children knew that. Whereupon I asked them whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it. And I asked Margaret whether she had done anything in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children. The children said she had doubled it, and desired me to speak no more of it. I told them I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself. So after I had thus acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction, many of whom gave testimony thereunto that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed for the accomplishing thereof, in the public meeting-house at Broadmead in Bristol, we took each other, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life. Then was a certificate relating both to the proceedings and the marriage openly read,

and signed by the relations, and by most of the ancient Friends of that city, besides many others from divers parts of the nation.¹

We stayed about a week in Bristol, and then, taking our leaves of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves to our several services, Margaret returning homewards to the North, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before.

Having visited Friends in London, and finding things there quiet and well, the Lord's power being over all, intending to go as far as Leicestershire, I writ a letter to my wife, to acquaint her therewith, that if she found it convenient to her she might meet me there; where, instead of meeting with my wife, I heard she was haled out of her house to Lancaster prison again, by an order got from the King and Council to fetch her back to prison upon the old premunire; though she had been discharged from that imprisonment by their order the year before. Wherefore, having visited Friends as far as Leicestershire, I returned to London.

As soon as I reached London, I hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell (two of my wife's daughters) to the King, to acquaint him how their mother was dealt with, and see if they could get a full discharge for her, that she might enjoy her estate and liberty without molestation. This was somewhat difficult, but by diligent attendance they at length obtained it; the King giving command to one called Sir John Otway to signify his pleasure therein by letter to the sheriff and others concerned therein in the country; which letter Sarah Fell, going down with her brother and sister Rous, carried with her to Lancaster; and by them I wrote to my wife as follows:

MY DEAR HEART IN THE TRUTH AND LIFE, THAT CHANGETH NOT,—
It was upon me that Mary Lower and Sarah should go to the King concerning thy imprisonment, and to Kirby, that the power of the Lord might appear over them all in thy deliverance. They went, and then they thought to come down; but it was upon me to stay them a little longer, that they might follow the business till it was effected; which it now is, and is here sent. The late declaration of mine hath been very serviceable, people being generally satisfied with it. So no more, but my love in the holy Seed. G. F.

After having been in the country, as I came up the streets of London drums beat for every household to send forth a

¹ The date of the marriage was the 27th of the Eighth Month (Oct.), 1669. The certificate was signed by ninety Friends.

soldier into the trained bands, to be in readiness, the Act¹ being then come into force.

As I had endeavoured to soften the magistrates, and to take off the sharpness of their edge in the execution of the Act, so it was upon me to write a few lines to Friends to strengthen and encourage them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear, with Christian patience and content, the suffering that was coming upon them. This I did in the following epistle:

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—Keep in the faith of God above all outward things, and in His power, that hath given you dominion over all. The same power of God is still with you to deliver you as formerly; for God and His power is the same; His seed is over all, and before all; and will be, when that which makes to suffer is gone. And so be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatsoever any do against the truth, it will come upon themselves, and fall as a millstone on their heads. If the Lord suffer you to be tried, let all be given up; and look at the Lord and His power, which is over the whole world, and will remain when the world is gone. In the Lord's power and truth rejoice over that which makes to suffer, in the Seed, which was before it was; for the life, truth, and power of God is over all. All keep in that; and if ye suffer in that, it is to the Lord.

Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things; and now the Lord may try you, whether your minds be in the outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them. Therefore keep in the Seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! shall not I pray, and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? Let not any one's Delilah shave his head, lest he lose his strength; neither rest in its lap, lest the Philistines be upon you. For your rest is in Christ Jesus; therefore rest not in anything else.

G. F.

London, the 12th of the 2nd Month, 1670.

Upon the First-day of the week Friends met as they used to do in the morning, where every minister declared their going to the several meetings as they were moved. And Friends asked to what meeting I would go; and I told them, "Into the high fields to Gracious Street meeting," where I expected the storm was most likely to begin.

When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep Friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard Street, where also I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a Friend was speaking amongst them; but spake not long. When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, "Saul, Saul, why

¹ The Conventicle Act came into force on the 10th of May (Third Month), 1670.

persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee." Then I shewed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in His members now, where He is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them. After I had spoken a while to this effect, there came an officer with a file of musketeers, and as they plucked me down, I said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." The commander put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, "You are the man I looked for."

As we went along the streets the people cried to them, "Have a care of him; he is a princely man." When we were come to the mayor's ¹ house, and were brought into the room where he was, I was brought up to the table where he sate; and then the officers took off my hat; and the mayor said mildly to me, "Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised that where two or three are met in His name, He will be in the midst of them, and the King and Parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God, why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three, and the King's indulgence to four?" I wished him to consider whether this Act would not have taken hold of Christ, with His twelve apostles and seventy disciples, if it had been in their time, who used to meet often together, and that with great numbers. However, I told him this Act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met under colour and pretence of religion to contrive insurrections, as (the Act says) late experience had shewn; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable, and therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty. . . . Therefore, we being innocent, and not the people this Act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do: and, I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent. After some more discourse he took our names and the places where we lodged, and at length set us at liberty.

Being set at liberty, the Friends with me asked me whither I would go. I told them, "To Gracechurch Street meeting again, if it is not over." When we came there, the people were generally gone; only some people stood at the gate. And so we went into Gerrard Roberts's house; and I sent out to know how the meetings

¹ The Lord Mayor of 1669-70 was Sir Samuel Starling.

in the City were. I understood that at some of the meeting-places Friends were kept out; at others they were taken, but set at liberty again a few days after. A glorious time it was, for the Lord's power came over all, and His everlasting truth got renown. For as fast as some that were speaking were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration¹ of the people; and the more, because many Baptists and other sectaries left their public meetings, and came to see how the Quakers would stand.

After some time the heat of persecution in London began to abate and meetings were quieter there. Being now clear of the City, I went to visit Friends in the country. At Reading most of the Friends were in prison, and I went to visit them. When I had been a while with them, the Friends that were prisoners gathered together, and several other persons came in; so that I had a fine opportunity amongst them, and declared the Word of Life, encouraging them in the truth; and they were refreshed in feeling the presence and power of the Lord amongst them. When the meeting was ended, the jailer understanding that I was there, the Friends were concerned how to get me out free again. But after I had stayed a while with them, and supped with them, I went downstairs, and the jailer being at the door, I put my hand in my pocket, which he had such an eye to, and the hope of some silver, that he forgot to question me. So I gave him some silver and bade him be kind and civil to my Friends in prison, whom I came to visit; and so I passed out.

We passed towards Rochester. On the way I alighted, and as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit; I got on my horse again, but the weight remained so that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester, but I was much spent, being so extremely laden and burdened with the world's spirits that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there; but could hardly either eat or sleep. I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's house, whose name was Williams, and who had formerly been a captain. Here I lay exceeding weak, and at last lost both hearing and sight. Several Friends came to me from London; and I told them that I should be as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth. In this condition I continued a pretty while. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who were honest-

¹ That is, wonder.

hearted and who were not. Several Friends that were doctors came to see me, and would have given me physic, but I was not to meddle with any; for I was sensible I had a travail to go through. And young Margaret Rous continued with me, and I was sensible of her tenderness and love, and Edward Mann's wife. I spake to Friends to let none but sober women be about me. Under great sufferings, and groanings, and travails, and sorrows, and oppressions, I lay for several weeks, whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could live. Some that were with me went away, saying they would not see me die; and it was reported both in London and in the country that I was deceased; but I felt the Lord's power inwardly supporting me. When they that were about me had given me up to die, I spake to them to get a coach to carry me to Gerrard Roberts's, about twelve miles off; for I found it was my place to go thither. I called for my clothes, which put them into more fear and doubts because people had used to desire a little before their departing to be changed. And so they said I had all the symptoms of death upon me, and all their hopes were gone except two or three. And when they thought to put me by concerning my clothes and made excuses, I perceived it and told them it was a deceit; but at last they brought me my clothes and things and put them on.

And so I spake to the man and woman of the house and had a little glimmering sight, and saw Edward Mann's wife putting up my clothes and told her she did well. And I felt the Lord's power was over all. So I went down a pair of stairs to the coach; and when I came to the coach I was like to have fallen down, I was so weak and feeble. But I got up into the coach and some Friends with me, and I could discern the people and fields as I went, and that was all.

After I had stayed about three weeks there, it was with me to go to Enfield. Friends were afraid of my removing; but I told them I might safely go. I went to the widow Dry's¹ where I lay all that winter, warring with the evil spirits of the world, and could not endure the smell of any flesh meat. Persecution was stirred up and wicked Informers set to work, so that a Friend could hardly speak a few words in a private family before they sate down to eat meat, but some were ready to inform against them.

It was a cruel, bloody, persecuting time, but as persecution began to cease I began to arise out of my sufferings. Many

¹ Elizabeth Dry (c. 1619-1689).

precious Friends came far and near to see me and attended upon me; and towards the Spring I began to recover and to walk up and down, to the astonishment of Friends and others.

When I had recovered I went from Enfield to Gerrard Roberts's again, and thence to London, where, though I was yet but weak, the Lord's power upheld and enabled me to declare His eternal Word of life.

About this time I was moved to pray to the Lord as follows:

O Lord God Almighty! Prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land! Bring down all injustice and iniquity, oppression and falsehood, and cruelty and unmercifulness in the land; that mercy and righteousness may flourish!

O Lord God! Set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the land all debauchery and vice, and whoredoms and fornication, and this raping spirit which causeth people to have no esteem of Thee, O God, nor of their own souls or bodies; nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

And, O Lord! Put it in the magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, and violence, and cruelty, profaneness, cursing, and swearing; and to put down all these whore-houses and play-houses, which do corrupt youth and people, and lead them from the kingdom of God, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come! Such works lead people to hell! And the Lord in mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop Thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.

G. F.

This Prayer was writ at night, the
17th of the 2nd Month, 1671.

And whilst I was in my travails and sufferings I had a vision that I was walking in the fields and many Friends were with me. And I bid them dig in the earth. And they did; and I went down, and there was a mighty vault top full of people, kept under the earth, rocks and stones. And so I bid them break open the earth and let all the people out; and they did, and all the people came forth to liberty, and it was a mighty place.

And when they had done, I went on, and bid them dig again. They did, and there was a mighty vault full of people. And I bid them throw it down and let all the people out, and so they did.

And I went on again and bid them dig again, and Friends said unto me, "George, thou findest out all things." So there they digged, and I went down and went along the vault. And there sate a woman in white, looking at time how it passed away, And there followed me a woman down in the vault, in which vault was the treasure. And so she laid her hand on the treasure

on my left hand, and then time whisked on apace. But I clapped my hand upon her, and said, "Touch not the treasure." And then time passed not so swift.

They that can read these things must have the earthy, stony nature off them; and see how the stones and the earth came upon man since the beginning—since he [fell] from the image of God and righteousness and holiness.

Much I could speak of these things, but I leave them to the right eye and reader to see and read.

I mentioned before that, upon the notice I received of my wife's being had to prison again, I sent two of her daughters to the King, and they procured his order to the sheriff of Lancashire for her discharge. But though I expected she would have been set at liberty thereby, this violent storm of persecution coming suddenly on, the persecutors there found means to hold her still in prison. But now the persecution a little ceasing, I was moved to speak to Martha Fisher and Hannah Stringer¹ to go to the King about her liberty. They went in faith, and in the Lord's power, who gave them favour with the King, so that he granted a discharge under the broad-seal, to clear both her and her estate, after she had been ten years² a prisoner, and premunired; the like whereof was scarce to be heard in England. I sent down the discharge forthwith by John Stubbs, with my horse, by whom also I writ to her, informing her how to get it delivered to the justices, and acquainting her that it was upon me from the Lord to go beyond the seas to visit the plantations of America; and therefore desired her to hasten to London, as soon as she could conveniently after she had obtained her liberty, because the ship was then fitting for the voyage. In the meantime I got down to Kingston and stayed at John Rous's till my wife came up. But the Yearly Meeting being near at hand, I tarried till that was over. Many Friends came up to it from all parts of the nation, and a very large and precious meeting it was; for the Lord's power was over all, and His glorious everlastingly-renowned Seed of life was exalted above all.

¹ At this time she was Hannah Salter, having married Henry Salter in 1666.

² "It should have been seven, or more strictly five and a half."—Hodgkin, *George Fox*, 1896, p. 218.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AMERICAN JOURNEY¹

1671-1673

AFTER the Yearly Meeting was over, and I had finished my services for the Lord here in England, the ship and the Friends that intended to go with me being ready, I went to Gravesend on the 12th of the Sixth Month, 1671, my wife and several Friends accompanying me to the Downs. We went from Wapping in a barge to the ship, which lay a little below Gravesend, and there we found the Friends that were bound for the voyage with me, who had gone down to the ship the night before. Their names were Thomas Briggs, William Edmondson, John Rous, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Miers. The vessel was a yacht, called the *Industry*; the master's name Thomas Forster, and the number of passengers about fifty. I lay that night on board, but most of the Friends at Gravesend.

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Early next morning the passengers, and those Friends that intended to accompany us to the Downs, being come on board, we took our leave in great tenderness of those that came with us to Gravesend only, and set sail about six in the morning for the Downs. Having a fair wind, we out-sailed all the ships that were outward-bound, and got thither by evening. Some of us went ashore that night and lodged at Deal; where, we understood, an officer had orders from the governor to take our names in writing; which he did next morning, though we told him they had been taken at Gravesend. In the afternoon, the wind serving, I took leave of my wife and other Friends, and went on board. Before we could sail, there being two of the King's frigates riding in the Downs, the captain of one of them sent his press-master on board us, who took off three of our seamen. This had certainly delayed, if not wholly lost, our voyage, had

¹ This account of the American journey is a composite narrative and not the authorship of Fox, though cast into the first person.

not the captain of the other frigate, being informed of the leakiness of our vessel, and the length of our voyage, in compassion and much civility, spared us two of his own men. Before this was over, a custom-house officer came on board to peruse packets and get fees; so that with the one and the other we were kept from sailing till about sunset; during which delay a very considerable number of merchantmen, outward-bound, were got several leagues before us. Being clear, we set sail in the evening, and next morning overtook part of that fleet about the height of Dover. We soon reached the rest, and in a little time left them all behind; for our yacht was counted a very swift sailer. But she was very leaky, so that the seamen and passengers did, for the most part, pump day and night, which was good to keep seamen and passengers in health. One day they observed that in two hours' time she sucked in sixteen inches of water in the well. At the keel there was a long hole one might put his hand into, and when they stopped it, there were little fishes in the ship.

When we had been about three weeks at sea, one afternoon we espied a vessel about four leagues astern of us. Our master said it was a Sallee man-of-war, that seemed to give us chase. Our master said, "Come, let us go to supper, and when it grows dark we shall lose him." This he spake to please and pacify the passengers, some of whom began to be very apprehensive of the danger. But Friends were well satisfied in themselves, having faith in God, and no fear upon their spirits. When the sun was gone down, I saw the ship out of my cabin making towards us. When it grew dark, we altered our course to miss her; but she altered also, and gained upon us. At night the master and others came into my cabin, and asked me what they should do. I told them I was no mariner; and I asked them what they thought was best to do. They said there were but two ways, either to outrun him, or to tack about, and hold the same course we were going before. I told them if he were a thief, they might be sure he would tack about too; and as for outrunning him, it was to no purpose to talk of that, for they saw he sailed faster than we. They asked me again what they should do, for they said if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel they had not come to the damage they did. I answered it was a trial of faith, and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel. So retiring in spirit, the Lord shewed me that His life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us. I told this to the master and the rest, and that our best way was

to tack about and steer our right course. I desired them also to put out all their candles but the one they steered by, and to speak to all the passengers to be still and quiet. About eleven at night, the watch called and said they were just upon us. That disquieted some of the passengers; whereupon I sate up in my cabin, and looking through the porthole, the moon being not quite down, I saw them very near us. I was getting up to go out of the cabin, but remembering the word of the Lord that His life and power was placed between us and them, I lay down again. The master and some of the seamen came again and asked me if they might not steer such a point. I told them they might do as they would. By this time the moon was quite down, a fresh gale arose, and the Lord hid us from them; and we sailed briskly on and saw them no more. The next day, being the First-day of the week, we had a public meeting in the ship, as we usually had on that day throughout the voyage, and the Lord's presence was greatly among us. And I desired the people to mind the mercies of the Lord, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that time had not the Lord's hand saved them. About a week after, the master and some of the seamen endeavoured to persuade the passengers that it was not a Turkish pirate that chased us, but a merchant-man going to the Canaries. When I heard of it, I asked them why then did they speak so to me? why did they trouble the passengers? and why did they tack about from him and alter their course? I told them they should take heed of slighting the mercies of God.

And Solomon Eccles had a seven days' fast, having neither eaten nor drunk all the time, unless sometimes he washed his mouth with vinegar; neither did he go to bed nor hardly slept during the time prefixed, unless now and then he nodded a little at night-times as he sate up.

Afterwards, while we were at Barbados, there came in an English merchant from Sallee, and told the people that one of the Sallee men-of-war saw a monstrous yacht at sea, the biggest in the world, and had her in chase three days, and was just upon her, but that there was a spirit in her that he could not take. This confirmed us in the belief that it was a Sallee-man we saw make after us, and that it was the Lord that delivered us out of his hands.

One morning I and several Friends were employed about finding out the significance of the four rivers of Eden, according to the Hebrew, together with the mystical meaning of them.

I was not sea-sick during the voyage, as many of the Friends and other passengers were; but the many hurts and bruises I had formerly received, and the infirmities I had contracted in England by extreme cold and hardships that I had undergone in many long and sore imprisonments, returned upon me at sea; so that I was very ill in my stomach and full of violent pains in my bones and limbs. This was after I had been at sea about a month. For about three weeks after I came first to sea, I sweat abundantly, chiefly my head, and my body brake out into pimples, and my legs and feet swelled extremely, so that my stockings and slippers could not be drawn on without difficulty and great pain. Then on a sudden the sweating ceased, so that when I came into the hot climate, where others perspired most freely, I could not perspire at all; but my flesh was hot, dry and burning; and that which brake out into pimples struck in again to my stomach and heart, so that I was very ill, and weak beyond words, which was enough to have killed some others. Thus I continued during the rest of the voyage, which was about a month; for we were seven weeks and some odd days at sea.

On the 3rd of the Eighth Month, early in the morning, we discovered the Island of Barbados, but it was between nine and ten at night ere we came to anchor in Carlisle Bay. We got on shore as soon as we could, and I, with some others, walked to a Friend's house, a merchant, whose name was Richard Forstall, above a quarter of a mile from The Bridge.¹ But being very ill and weak, I was so tired with that little walk, that I was in a manner spent by the time I got thither. There I abode very ill for several days, and though they several times gave me things to make me sweat, they could not effect it. But what they gave me did rather parch and dry up my body, and made me probably worse than otherwise I might have been. Thus I continued about three weeks after I landed, having much pain in my bones, joints, and whole body, so that I could hardly get any rest; yet I was pretty cheery, and my spirit kept above it all. Neither did my illness take me off from the service of Truth, but both while I was at sea, and after I came to Barbados, before I was able to travel about, I gave forth several papers (having a Friend to write for me),² some of which I sent by the first conveyance for England to be printed.

After I had rested three or four days at Richard Forstall's,

¹ Bridgetown, the principal city of the island.

² John Hull acted as secretary while on the island.

where many Friends came to visit me, John Rous having borrowed a coach of Colonel Chamberlain, came to fetch me to his father, Thomas Rous's house. But it was late ere we could get thither, and little or no rest could I take that night. A few days after, Colonel Chamberlain, who had so kindly lent his coach, paid me a visit, and was very courteous towards me.

Soon after I came into the island, I was informed of a remarkable occurrence, wherein the justice of God did eminently appear. It was thus:

There was a young man of Barbados, whose name was John Drakes (a person of some note in the world's account, but a common swearer and wicked man), who, when in London, had a mind to marry a young maid, a Friend's daughter,¹ left by her mother very young, and with a considerable portion, to the care and government of several Friends, whereof I was one. He made application to me, that he might have my consent to marry this young maid. I told him I was one of her overseers appointed by her mother, who was a widow, to take care of her; that if her mother had intended her for a match to any man of the world, she would have disposed of her accordingly; but she committed her to us, that she might be trained up in the fear of the Lord, and therefore I should betray the trust reposed in me if I should consent that he, who was out of the fear of God, should marry her; which I would not do. When he saw that he could not obtain his desire, he returned to Barbados with great offence of mind against me, but without just cause. Afterwards, when he heard I was coming to Barbados, he swore desperately, and threatned that if he could possibly procure it, he would have me burned to death when I came there. Which a Friend hearing, asked him what had I done to him, that he was so violent against me. He would not answer, but said again, "I'll have him burned." Whereupon the Friend replied, "Do not march on too furiously, lest thou come too soon to thy journey's end." About ten days after, he was struck with a violent burning fever, of which he died; and by which his body was so scorched, that the people took notice of it and said it was as black as a coal. Three days before I landed, his body was laid in the dust, and it was taken notice of as a sad example.

While I continued so weak that I could not go abroad to meetings, the other Friends that came over with me bestirred

¹ Her name was Abia Trott.

themselves in the Lord's work. The day but one after we came on shore they had a great meeting at The Bridge, and after that several others here and there, up and down the island, in service, thrashing, cutting and hewing, and had very considerable numbers at their several meetings, which were many, both as to place and time, and the greater and fuller by reason that many of the world flocked into them, and some of the chiefest rank. For they had got my name, understanding I was come upon the island, and expected to see me at those meetings, not knowing that I was unable to go abroad. And indeed, my weakness continued the longer on me by reason that my spirit was much pressed down at first with the filth and dirt and unrighteousness of the people, which lay as a heavy weight and load upon me. But after I had been above a month upon the island, my spirit became somewhat easier, and I began to recover in some measure my health and strength, and to get abroad among Friends.

Because I was not well able to travel, the Friends of the island concluded to have their men's and women's meeting for the service of the Church at Thomas Rous's, where I lay; by which means I was present at each of their meetings, and had very good service for the Lord in both. For they had need of information in many things, divers disorders having crept in for want of care and watchfulness. I exhorted them, more especially at the men's meeting, to be watchful and careful with respect to marriages, to prevent Friends marrying in near kindreds, and also to prevent over-hasty proceedings towards second marriages after the death of a former husband or wife; advising that a decent regard might be had in such cases to the memory of the deceased husband or wife.

As to Friends' children marrying too young, as at thirteen or fourteen years of age, I shewed them the unfitness thereof, and the inconveniences and hurts that attend such childish marriages. I admonished them to purge the floor thoroughly, to sweep their houses very clean, that nothing might remain that would defile, and to take care that nothing be spoken, out of their meetings, to the blemishing or defaming one of another.

Likewise concerning the registering of marriages, births, and burials, I advised them to keep exact records of each in distinct books for that only use; and also to record in a book for that purpose, the condemnations of such as went out from Truth

into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such of them as returned again.

Also I recommended to their care the providing of convenient burying-places for Friends, which in some parts were yet wanting. Some directions also I gave them concerning wills, and the ordering of legacies left by Friends for public uses, and other things relating to the affairs of the Church.

Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well them that were bought with their money as them that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude they would make them free. Many sweet and precious things were opened in these meetings by the Spirit, and in the power of the Lord, to the edifying, confirming, and building up of Friends, both in the faith and holy order of the gospel.

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After I was able to go abroad and had been a little amongst Friends, I went to visit the governor;¹ Lewis Morris, Thomas Rous and some other Friends being with me. He received us very civilly, and treated us very kindly, making us dine with him, and keeping us most part of the day before he let us go away.

The same week I went to Bridgetown. There was to be a general meeting of Friends that week; and the visit I had made to the governor, and the kind reception I had with him, being generally known to the officers, civil and military, many came to this meeting from most parts of the island, and those not of the meanest rank, divers of them being judges or justices, colonels or captains; so that a very great meeting we had, both of Friends and others. The Lord's blessed power was plentifully with us; and although I was somewhat straitned for time, three other Friends having spoken before me, yet the Lord opened things through me to the general and great satisfaction of them that were present. Colonel Lewis Morris came to this meeting, and with him a neighbour of his, a judge in the

¹ Colonel Christopher Codrington was lieutenant-governor in 1671.

country, whose name was Ralph Fretwell; who was very well satisfied, and received the truth.

Paul Gwin and his company bawled and raged till they had spent themselves. They asked me how I spelt Cain and whether I had the same spirit as the apostles had, and I said I had. And away they went.

I went home with Lewis Morris that night, being about nine or ten miles, going part of the way by boat, the rest on horseback. The place where his plantation was, I thought to be in the finest air of the island. The next day Thomas Briggs and William Edmondson came to see me, intending to leave the island the day following, to go on the Lord's service to Antego and Mevis.¹ Lewis Morris went with them; at Antego they had several good meetings, to which there was a great resort of people; and many were convinced. But when they went to Mevis, the governor,² an old persecutor, sent soldiers on board the vessel to stop them, and would not suffer them to land. Wherefore, after Friends of the place had been on board the vessel with them, and they had been sweetly refreshed together, feeling the Lord's power and presence amongst them, they returned to Antego, where having stayed a while longer, they came back again to Barbados, Thomas Briggs being weak and ill.

Of the other Friends that came over with me from England, James Lancaster, John Cartwright and George Pattison were gone some time before to Jamaica, and others to other places, so that few remained in Barbados with me. Yet we had many great and precious meetings, both for worship and for the affairs of the Church; to the former of which many people of the world came. At one of these meetings Colonel Lyne, a sober person, was so well satisfied with what I declared, that he said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you; who say you do not own Christ, nor that He died; whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all His offices beyond what I have ever heard before." This man, observing a person take in writing the heads of what I delivered, desired to have a copy of it; and stayed another day with us; so great a love was raised in him to the truth. Indeed, a very great conviction there was in most parts of the island; which made the priests and some professors fret and rage.

Our meetings were very large, and free from disturbance from the government, though the envious priests and some professors

¹ Antigua and Nevis.

² Charles Wheeler was governor.

endeavoured to stir up the magistrates against us. When they found they could not prevail that way, some Baptists came to the meeting at the town, which was full of people of several ranks and qualities. A great company came with them; and they brought a slanderous paper, written by John Pennyman, with which they made a great noise. But the Lord gave me wisdom and utterance to answer their cavils; so that the auditory generally received satisfaction, and those quarrelsome professors lost ground. When they had wearied themselves with clamour they went away; but the people staying, the meeting was continued; the things they cavilled about were further opened and cleared; and the life and power of God came over all. But the rage and envy in our adversaries did not cease; they endeavoured to defame Friends with many false and scandalous reports, which they spread abroad through the island. Whereupon I, with some other Friends, drew up a paper, to go forth in the name of the people called Quakers, for the clearing of Truth and Friends from those false reports. It was directed thus:

For the Governor of Barbados, and his Council and Assembly, and all others in power, both civil and military, in this Island: from the people called Quakers.

Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that we do deny God, and Christ Jesus, and the Scriptures of truth, &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, do clearly testify the contrary. Yet notwithstanding, for your satisfaction, we do now plainly and sincerely declare that we do own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent, and everlasting God, who is the Creator of all things both in heaven and in earth, and the Preserver of all that He hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore!

And we do own and believe in Jesus Christ, His beloved and only begotten Son, in whom He is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by Him. And we do own and believe that He was made a sacrifice for sin who knew no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth; and that He was crucified for us in the flesh without the gates of Jerusalem; and that He was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of His Father, for our justification; and we do believe

that He ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we do believe that there is no other foundation to be laid than that which is laid, even Christ Jesus; who, we do believe, tasted death for every man, shed His blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world; according as John the Baptist testified of Him, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." John i. 29. We believe that He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, even the Captain of our Salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the Devil and his works; who is the Seed of the woman, that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. That He is (as the Scriptures of truth say of Him) our wisdom and righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men whereby we may be saved. It is He alone who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls; He it is who is our Prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, "A Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; Him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever He shall say unto you; and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that Prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." Acts iii. 22, 23.

He it is that is now come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true. And He rules in our hearts by His law of love and of life, and makes us free from the law of sin and death. We have no life but by Him; for He is the quickning Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven; by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works to serve the living God. And He is our Mediator, that makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending. He being the Oath of God, the new Covenant of light, life, grace, and peace; the Author and Finisher of our faith. Now this Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly Man, the Emmanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; Him whom the high-priest raged against, and said He had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and the elders of the Jews took counsel together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason, who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach an horrible lie, namely, that His disciples came and stole Him away by night, whilst they slept. After He was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the Apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus, for preaching Christ and His resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

Having been three months or more in Barbados, and having visited Friends, thoroughly settled meetings, and despatched the service for which the Lord had brought me thither, I felt

my spirit clear of that island, and found drawings to Jamaica. When I had communicated this to Friends, I acquainted the governor also, and divers of his council, that I intended shortly to leave the island and go to Jamaica. This I did, that as my coming thither was open and public, so my departure also might be. Before I left the island, I writ the following letter to my wife, that she might understand both how it was with me, and how I proceeded in my travels:

MY DEAR HEART,—To whom is my love, and to all the children in the Seed of Life that changeth not, but is over all; blessed be the Lord for ever. I have gone under great sufferings in my body and spirit, beyond words; but the God of Heaven be praised, His truth is over all. I am now well; and, if the Lord permit, within a few days I pass from Barbados towards Jamaica; and I do think to stay but little there. I desire that ye may be all kept free in the Seed of Life, out of all cumbrances. Friends are generally well. Remember me to Friends that enquire after me. So no more, but my love in the Seed and Life that changeth not.

G. F.

Barbados, the 6th of the 11th Month, 1671.

I set sail from Barbados to Jamaica on the 8th of the Eleventh Month, 1671; Robert Widders, William Edmondson, Solomon Eccles and Elizabeth Hooton going with me. Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs remained in Barbados; with whom were John Rous and William Bailey. We had a quick and easy passage to Jamaica, where we met with our Friends James Lancaster, John Cartwright, and George Pattison again, who had been labouring there in the service of Truth; into which we forthwith entered with them, travelling up and down through the island, which is large; and a brave country it is, though the people are, many of them, debauched and wicked. We had much service. There was a great convincement, and many received the truth, some of whom were people of account in the world. We had many meetings there, which were large and very quiet. The people were civil to us, so that not a mouth was opened against us. I was twice with the governor,¹ and some other magistrates, who all carried themselves lovingly towards me.

About a week after we landed in Jamaica, Elizabeth Hooton, a woman of great age, who had travelled much in Truth's service, and suffered much for it, departed this life. She was

¹ Sir Thomas Finch was governor at this time.

well the day before she died; and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to Truth at her departure.

When we had been seven weeks and a day in Jamaica, had brought Friends into pretty good order, and settled several meetings amongst them, there being a conviction in the East, West, North and South of the land, we left Solomon Eccles there; the rest of us embarked for Maryland, leaving Friends and Truth prosperous in Jamaica, the Lord's power being over all, and His blessed Seed reigning.

Before I left Jamaica, I writ another letter to my wife, as follows:

MY DEAR HEART,—To whom is my love, and to the children, in that which changeth not, but is over all; and to all Friends in those parts. I have been at Jamaica about five weeks. Friends here are generally well; and here is a conviction: but things would be too large to write of. Sufferings in every place attend me; but the blessed Seed is over all: the great Lord be praised, who is Lord of sea and land, and of all things therein. We intend to pass from hence about the beginning of the next month towards Maryland, if the Lord please. Dwell all of you in the Seed of God; in His truth I rest in love to you all.

G. F.

Jamaica, 23d of the 12th Month, 1671.

We went on board on the 8th of the First Month, 1671/2; and having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and dangerous, especially in our passing through the Gulf of Florida, where we met with many trials by winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of the seas and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by His power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times likely to be upset and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that His ear was open to the supplications of His people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but were fain to let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord, who did graciously hear us, and did calm the winds and the seas, and gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in His salvation; blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, whom the winds and the seas obey!

We were at sea between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Patuxent River, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter, in which were divers people of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds' worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship. But provision grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, was well nigh spent when they came to us; so that with their living with us too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard whereof was so great that all but Friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after, the Friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, through the good providence of the Lord, which we came to understand afterwards. For when we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, that were both bound for the same coast. One of these was a frigate, the other a ketch. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the ketch, who offered to carry us ten shillings a-piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the ketch, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together; but what with calms and contrary winds, we were in a while separated. After that, the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards; by whom she was taken and robbed, and the master and mate were made prisoners; afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand, we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous. Some Friends at Jamaica would have had us gone in the frigate that was taken, but the Lord in His wisdom ordered it otherwise.

Here we found John Burnyeat intending shortly to sail for England; but on our arrival he altered his purpose, and joined us in the Lord's service. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the Province of Maryland, that he might

see them together and take his leave of them before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God, that we landed just in time to reach that meeting; by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the Province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which, besides Friends, came many of the world's people, divers of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account; for there were amongst them five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note; who seemed well satisfied with the meeting.

After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began; wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof to their great satisfaction. After this we went to a place called the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed. We went some part of the way by land, the rest by water; and a storm arising, our boat was run on ground, in danger to be beaten to pieces; and the water came in upon us. I was in a great sweat, having come very hot out of a meeting before, and was now wet with the water beside; yet having faith in the divine power, I was preserved from taking hurt; blessed be the Lord. To this meeting also many of the world's people came, and did receive the truth with reverence. We had also a men's meeting and a women's meeting, at which most of the back-sliders came in again; and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the Church.

After these two general meetings we parted company, dividing ourselves unto several coasts, for the service of Truth. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea for New England; William Edmondson and three other Friends sailed for Virginia, where things were much out of order; John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, George Pattison, and I, with several Friends of the Province, went over by boat to the Eastern Shore,¹ and had a meeting there on the First-day; where many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed. A very large and heavenly meeting it was; and several persons of quality in that country were at it, two of whom were justices of the peace.

It was upon me from the Lord to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to that meeting. The emperor came and was at it; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach in

¹ The eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay.

time; yet they came after with their cockarouses.¹ I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly, and confessed to it. What I spake to them I desired them to speak to their people, and let them know that God was raising up His tabernacle of witness in their wilderness country, and was setting up His standard and glorious ensign of righteousness. They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it; yet they said they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now.

Next day we began our journey by land towards New England, having two Indians as guides; a tedious journey through the woods and wilderness, over bogs and great rivers. Once there came a straggling Indian to me, and after a while he began to grop me and handle me, and said I was good blood; and it was upon me to see what he would do, for though I was alone I was out of all fear, and at last I lift up my hand up to the heaven and down to the earth and told him the great God would burn him; and so another came to him, and they whispered together and went away. We took horse at the head of Tredhaven Creek, and travelled through the woods, till we came a little above the head of Miles River;² by which we passed, and rode to the head of Wye River, and so to the head of Chester River; where, making a fire, we took up our lodging in the woods. Next morning, setting forward again, we travelled through the woods till we came to Sasafra River, which we went over in canoes, causing our horses to swim by. Then we rode to Bohemia River; where in like manner swimming our horses, we ourselves went over in canoes. We rested a little while at a plantation by the way, but not long, for we had thirty miles to ride that afternoon, if we would reach a town; which we were desirous to do, and therefore rid hard for it. I with some others, whose horses were strong, got to the town that night, being the 9th of the Third Month, exceeding tired, and withal wet to the skin; but George Pattison and Robert Widders, being weaker-horsed, were obliged to lie in the woods that night also. The town we went to was a Dutch town called Newcastle, whither Robert Widders and George Pattison came to us next morning. We departed thence and got over the river Delaware, not without great danger of some of our lives.

¹ Indian chiefs or headmen.

² Now St. Michael's River.

When we were over we were troubled to get new guides, who were hard to get and very chargeable. Then had we that wilderness country to pass through, and wild woods where it was said it was never known before any man to ride, since called West Jersey, not then inhabited by English; so that we have travelled a whole day together without seeing man or woman, house or dwelling-place. Sometimes we lay in the woods by a fire, and sometimes in the Indians' wigwams. We came one night to an Indian town, and lay at the king's house, who was a very pretty¹ man. Both he and his wife received us very lovingly, and his attendants (such as they were) were very respectful to us. They laid us mats to lie on; but provision was very short with them, having caught but little that day. At another Indian town where we stayed the king came to us, and he could speak some English. I spake to him much, and also to his people, and they were very loving to us.

In New England there was an Indian king that said he saw that there were many of their people turned to the New England professors, who said they were worse since than they were before they left their own religion; and of all the religions he saw the Quakers' was the best. If they should turn to the New England professors, that made the people worse than they were before, and if he should turn to the Quakers, which was best, then the professors would hang him and put them to death and banish them as they did the Quakers. And therefore he thought it was the best to be as he was.

At length we came to Middletown, an English plantation in East Jersey, and there were some Friends, but we could not stay to have a meeting there at that time, being earnestly pressed in our spirits to get to the half-year's meeting of Friends at Oyster Bay in Long Island, which was very near at hand. We went down with a Friend, Richard Hartshorn (brother to Hugh Hartshorn, the upholsterer, in Houndsditch, London), who received us gladly at his house, where we refreshed ourselves (for we were weary), and then he carried us and our horses in his own boat over a great water, which occupied most part of the day getting over, and set us upon Long Island. So we got that evening to Friends at Gravesend, with whom we tarried that night, and next day got to Flushing, to one John Bowne's, who was banished by the Dutch into England, where there were

¹ That is, worthy.

many hundreds of the world's people; and they did say if I would come to their town I should have their meeting-house. The day following we reached Oyster Bay; several Friends of Gravesend and Flushing accompanying us.

The half-year's meeting began on the 17th of the Third Month, which was the First-day of the week, and lasted four days. The First and Second-days we had public meetings for worship, to which people of the world came; on the Third-day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the Church were taken care of. Here we met with some bad spirits who had run out from Truth into prejudice, contention and opposition to the order of Truth and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and 'tis like would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know that if they had anything to object against the order of Truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose. And indeed I laboured the more and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them.

The men's and women's meetings being over, on the Fourth-day we had a meeting with those discontented people, to which as many of them as would did come, and as many Friends as desired were present also; and the Lord's power brake forth gloriously to the confounding of the gainsayers. Then some of those that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the truth, began to fawn upon me, and to cast the matter upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under; which was of great service to Truth, and to the satisfaction and comfort of Friends; glory to the Lord for ever!

After Friends were gone to their several habitations, we stayed some days upon the island; had meetings in several parts thereof, and good service for the Lord. When we were clear of the island, we returned to Oyster Bay, waiting for a wind to carry us to Rhode Island, which was computed to be about two hundred miles. As soon as the wind served we set sail, and arrived there on the 30th day of the Third Month; and were gladly received by Friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's

house,¹ who at that time was governor of the island; where we lay, being very weary with travelling by land and sea. On the First-day following we had a large meeting, to which the deputy-governor² and several justices came, who were mightily affected with the truth.

The week following, the Yearly Meeting for all the Friends of New England and the other colonies adjacent was held in this island; to which, besides very many Friends who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs from Barbados, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from another way. This meeting lasted six days, the first four days being general public meetings for worship, to which abundance of the world's people came in sloops from divers other colonies and jurisdictions; for they having no priests in the island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the governor and deputy-governor, with several justices of the peace, daily frequenting the meetings; this so encouraged the people that they flocked in from all parts of the island. Very good service we had amongst them, and Truth had a good reception. I have rarely observed people, in the state wherein they stood, hear with more attention, diligence and affection than generally they did during the four days together; which also was taken notice of by other Friends.

After these public meetings were over, the men's meeting began, which was large, precious and weighty; and the day following was the women's meeting, which also was large and very solemn. These two meetings being for ordering the affairs of the Church, many weighty things were opened and communicated to them, by way of advice, information and instruction in the services relating thereunto; that all might be kept clean, sweet and savoury amongst them. In these two meetings, several men's and women's meetings for other parts were agreed and settled, to take care of the poor, and other affairs of the Church; and to see that all who profess Truth walk according to the glorious gospel of God. When this great general meeting in Rhode Island was ended, it was somewhat hard for Friends to part, for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and His blessed truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then, being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their various habitations in the several colonies where they lived.

¹ On Farewell Street, Newport.

² John Cranston.

When Friends had taken their leaves one of another, we, who travelled amongst them, dispersed ourselves into our several services, as the Lord ordered us. John Burnyeat, John Cartwright and George Pattison went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there; whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow a while after, in the same service; but they were not yet clear of this island. Robert Widders and I stayed some time longer also upon this island; finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people in sloops from other colonies, for some time after the general meeting; so that we had many large and serviceable meetings among them for several days after.

During this time a marriage was celebrated amongst Friends in this island, and we were present. It was at a Friend's house, who had formerly been governor of the island;¹ three justices of the peace and many others of the world's people were there; and both they and Friends said they never saw so solemn an assembly on such an occasion, so weighty a marriage and so comely an order. Thus Truth was set over all. This might serve for an example to others, for there were some present from many other places.

After this I had a great travail in spirit concerning the Ranters, for there were many of them in those parts, and they had been rude at a meeting which I was not at. Wherefore I appointed a meeting amongst them, believing the Lord would give me power over them; which He did to His praise and glory; blessed be His name for ever. There were at this meeting many Friends and divers of the world's people, some of whom were justices of the peace, and other officers, who were generally well affected. One of the justices, who had been one twenty years, was convinced, and spake highly of the truth; and said he did not think there had been such a man in the world.

Then, on the 30th day of the Fourth Month, we had a meeting at Providence, which was very large, consisting of many sorts and sects of people; I had a great travail upon my spirit, that it might be preserved quiet, and that Truth might be brought over the people, might gain entrance and have a place in them; for they were generally above the priests in high notions; and some of them came on purpose to dispute. But the Lord, whom we waited upon, was with us, and His power went over them all;

¹ William Coddington (1601-1678).

and His blessed Seed was exalted and set above all. The disputers were silent, and the meeting was quiet and ended well; praised be the Lord! The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting. This place was about thirty miles from Rhode Island; and we went to it by water. The governor of Rhode Island, and many others, went with me thither; and we had the meeting in a great barn, which was thronged with people, so that I was exceeding hot, and in a great sweat, as though I had been sodden; but all was well; the glorious power of the Lord shined over all; glory to the great God for ever!

After this we went to Narraganset, about twenty miles from Rhode Island; and the governor went with us. And on the 13th of the Fifth Month we had a meeting at a justice's house, where Friends had never had any before.¹ It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people came also from Connecticut, and other parts round about, amongst whom were four justices of the peace. Most of these people had never heard Friends before; but they were mightily affected with the meeting, and a great desire there is after the truth amongst them; so that our meeting was of very good service, blessed be the Lord for ever! The justice at whose house the meeting was, and another justice of that country, invited me to come again; but I was then clear of those parts, and going off towards Shelter Island. But John Burnyeat and John Cartwright, being come back out of New England into Rhode Island before I was gone, I laid this place before them; and they felt drawings thither, and went to visit them. At another place I heard some of the magistrates say among themselves that if they had money enough they would hire me to be their minister. This was where they did not well understand us and our principles; but when I heard of it, I said, "It is time for me to be gone; for if their eye is so much to me, or any of us, they will not come to their own Teacher." For this thing (of hiring ministers) had spoiled many by hindering them from improving their own talents; whereas our labour is to bring all men to their own Teacher in themselves.

I went from hence towards Shelter Island, having with me Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison and John Jay, a planter of Barbados. We went in a sloop; and passing by Point Judith and Block Island, we came to Fisher's Island, where at night we went on shore; but were not able to stay for the mosquitoes which abound there, and are very trouble-

¹ Probably the house of Jireh Bull.

some. Wherefore we went into our sloop again, put off from the shore, and cast anchor; and so lay in our sloop that night. Next day we went into the Sound, but finding our sloop was not able to live in that water, we returned again and came to anchor before Fisher's Island, where we lay in our sloop that night also. There fell abundance of rain, and our sloop being open, we were exceeding wet. Next day we passed over the waters called the Two Horse Races, and then by Gardner's Island; after which we passed by Gull's Island, and so got at length to Shelter Island; which, though it was but about twenty-seven leagues from Rhode Island, yet through the difficulty of the passage we were three days in getting there.

The day after, being the First-day of the week, we had a meeting there. In the same week I had another among the Indians, at which were their king, his council, about a hundred Indians more. They sate down like Friends, and heard very attentively, while I spake to them by an interpreter, an Indian that could speak English well. After the meeting they appeared very loving, and confessed that what was said to them was truth. On the next First-day we had a great meeting on the island, to which came many of the world's people who had never heard Friends before. They were very well satisfied with it, and would not go away when it was over till they had spoken with me; wherefore I went amongst them, and found they were much taken with the truth; good desires were raised in them, and great love. I have set up a meeting among them once a fortnight, and a Friend, Joseph Silvester,¹ is to read the Scriptures to them. Blessed be the Lord, His name spreads, and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the heathen.

While we were in Shelter Island, William Edmondson came to us, who had been labouring in the work of the Lord in Virginia. From whence he travelled through the desert-country, through difficulties and many trials, till he came to Roanoke, where he met with a tender people. After seven weeks' service in those parts, sailing over to Maryland, and so to New York, he came to Long Island, and so to Shelter Island; where we met with him, and were very glad to hear from him the good service he had had for the Lord in the several countries and places where he had travelled since he parted from us.

We stayed not long in Shelter Island, but entering our sloop again, put to sea for Long Island. We had a very rough passage,

¹ Nathaniel Silvester was the proprietor of Shelter Island, which he made a shelter for persecuted Friends.

for the tide ran so strong for several hours that I have not seen the like; and being against us, we could hardly get forwards, though we had a gale. We were upon the water all that day and the night following; but found ourselves next day driven back near unto Fisher's Island. For there was a great fog, and towards day it was very dark so that we could not see what way we made. Besides, it rained much in the night, which in our open sloop made us very wet. Next day a great storm arose, so that we were fain to go over the Sound, and did get over with much difficulty. When we left Fisher's Island, we passed by Falkner Island, and came to the Main, where we cast anchor till the storm was over. Then we crossed the Sound, being all very wet; and much difficulty we had to get to land, the wind being strong against us. But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth, and of the seas and waters, all was well. We got safe to Oyster Bay in Long Island on the 7th of the Sixth Month, very early in the morning, which is about two hundred miles from Rhode Island. At Oyster Bay we had a very large meeting. The same day James Lancaster and Christopher Holder went over the Bay to Rye, on the continent, in Governor Winthrop's government,¹ and had a meeting there. From Oyster Bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting; many hundreds of the people of the world being there, some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (praised be the Lord God!), and the people were much satisfied. Meanwhile Christopher Holder and some other Friends went to Jamaica,² and had a meeting there. We passed by Jamaica to Gravesend, about twenty miles, and there had three precious meetings; to which many would have come from New York, but the weather hindered them.

Being clear of this place, we hired a sloop; and the wind serving, set out for the New Country, now called Jersey. Passing down the Bay by Coney Island, Natton Island,³ and Staten Island, we came to Richard Hartshorn's, at Middletown Harbour, about break of day, the 27th of the Sixth Month. Next day we rode about thirty miles in the country through the woods and over very bad bogs; one worse than all the rest, the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slither down with our horses, and then let them lie and breathe themselves. This place the people of the country called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and on the First-day had

¹ Rye is now in New York State.

² A town on Long Island.

³ Now Governor's Island.

a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came from far; and the blessed presence of the Lord was with us. The same week we had a men's and women's meeting out of most parts of the new country, Jersey. They are building a meeting-place in the midst of them, and there is a monthly and general meeting set up, which will be of great service in those parts, in keeping up the gospel order and government of Christ Jesus (of the increase of which there is no end), that they who are faithful may see that all who profess the holy truth live in the pure religion, and walk as becometh the gospel.

While we were at Porback, near Shrewsbury, an accident befell, which, for the time, was a great exercise to us. John Jay, a Friend, a pretty, rich planter of Barbados, who came with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back; and the horse fell a-running, and cast him down upon his head, and brake his neck, as the people said. They that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could; and feeling him, saw that he was dead. As I stood by him, pitying him and his large family, I took him by the hair of his head, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I threw away my stick and gloves and took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in the throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed: but I bid them have a good heart and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire. I bid them get him some warm thing to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak; but he did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs and over a river, where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves on a tree. Many miles did he travel with us after this. To this meeting came most of the people of the town. A glorious meeting we had, and the truth was over all; blessed be the great Lord God for ever!

After the meeting we went to Middletown Harbour, about five miles, in order to take our long journey next morning through

the woods towards Maryland, having hired Indians for our guides. I determined to pass through the woods on the other side of Delaware Bay, that so we might head the creeks and rivers as much as possible. On the 9th of the Seventh Month we set forwards, and passed through many Indian towns, and over some rivers and bogs; and when we had ridden about forty miles, we made us a fire at night, and laid by it. As we came among the Indians, we declared the day of the Lord to them. Next day we travelled fifty miles, as we computed; and at night, finding an old house, which the Indians had forced the people to leave, we made a fire and stayed there, at the head of Delaware Bay. Next day we swam our horses over a river about a mile, at twice, first to an island called Upper Dinidock,¹ and then to the mainland; having hired Indians to help us over in their canoes. This day we could reach but about thirty miles, and came at night to a Swede's house, where we got a little straw, and lay there that night. Next day, having hired another guide, we travelled about forty miles through the woods, and made us a fire at night, by which we lay and dried ourselves; for we were often wet in our travels. The next day we passed over a desperate river,² which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to us and our horses. Thence we came to Christiana River, where we swam over our horses, and went over ourselves in canoes; but the sides of this river were so bad and miry, that some of the horses had like to have been laid up. Thence we went to Newcastle, formerly New Amsterdam; and being very weary, and inquiring in the town where we could buy some corn for our horses, the governor³ came and invited me to his house; and afterwards desired me to lodge there, saying he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome. So I stayed there, the other Friends being taken care of also. This was on the Seventh-day of the week; and he offering his house for a meeting, we had the next day a pretty large one; for the chief of the town and, indeed, most of the town were at it. Here had never been a meeting before, nor any within a great way of it; but this was a very precious one, many of the people, both men and women, were tender, and confessed to the truth; and some received it; blessed be the Lord for ever!

On the 16th of the Seventh Month we set forward again, and travelled, as near as we could compute, about fifty miles that

¹ Now Matinicunk.

² Probably Brandywine River.

³ Captain Carre went commonly under the denomination of governor among the inhabitants.

day, through the woods and over the bogs, heading Bohemia and Sasafra Rivers. At night we made us a fire in the woods, and lay there all night; and it being rainy weather, we got under some thick trees for shelter, and afterwards dried ourselves again by the fire. Next day we waded through Chester River, a very broad water, and after passing through many bad bogs, lay that night also in the woods by a fire; not having gone above thirty miles that day. The day following we travelled hard; and though we had some troublesome bogs in our way, we rode about fifty miles; and got safe that night, but very weary, to a Friend's house, one Robert Harwood at Miles River in Maryland. This was the 18th of the month; and though we were very weary, and much dirtied with getting through the bogs in our journey, yet hearing of a meeting next day, we went to it, and then to John Edmundson's; from whence we went three or four miles by water to a meeting on the First-day following. Here was a judge's wife, who had never been at any of our meetings before; who was reached, and said after, "I had rather hear this man once than the priests a thousand times." Many others also of the world's people were very well satisfied; for the power of the Lord was eminently with us; blessed for ever be His holy name!

We passed thence about twenty-two miles, and had a meeting upon the Kentish Shore, to which one of the judges came; a Friend went to invite him to the meeting and he said he "would go to hear Mr. Fox as far as any of them" that invited him, "for he was a grounded man." Then, after another meeting hard by, at one Henry Wilcock's house, on the 26th of the Seventh Month, where also we had good service for the Lord, we went by water about twenty miles to a very large meeting, where were some hundreds of the world's people, four justices of the peace, the high-sheriff of Delaware, an Indian emperor or governor, and two chiefs. With these Indians I had a good opportunity the night before. I spake to them by an interpreter; they heard the truth attentively, and were very loving. A blessed meeting this was, and of great service, both for convincing and establishing in the truth them that were convinced of it. The emperor said he did believe that I was a very honest man. Blessed be the Lord, who causeth His blessed truth to spread!

After the meeting a woman came to me, whose husband was one of the judges of that part of the country, and a member of the assembly, and told me her husband was sick, not likely to live; and desired me to go home with her to see him. It was

three miles to her house; and being just come hot out of the meeting, it was hard for me then to go; yet considering the service, I got a horse, and went with her and visited her husband, and spake what the Lord gave me to him. The man was much refreshed, and finely raised up by the power of the Lord; and he afterwards came to our meetings.

I went back again to the Friends that night; and next day we departed thence about nineteen or twenty miles to Tredhaven Creek, to John Edmundson's again; whence, on the 3rd of the Eighth Month, we went to the general meeting for all Maryland Friends. This held five days; the first three we had meetings for public worship, to which people of all sorts came; the other two were spent in the men's and women's meetings. To the public meetings came many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country. There were so many, besides Friends, that it was thought there were sometimes a thousand people at one of these meetings. So that, though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again as it was before, it could not contain the people. I went by boat every day four or five miles to it, and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river that it was almost like the Thames. The people said there were never so many boats seen there together before. And one of the justices said he never saw so many people together in that country before. It was a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, and Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced. They said they never heard the Scriptures so clearly opened before, for, saith they, "He hath them at his fingers' ends, and as a man would read them in a book and hold it before him." After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, and were held the other two days; for I had something to impart to them which concerned the glory of God, the order of the gospel, and the government of Christ Jesus. When these meetings were over, we took our leave of Friends in those parts, whom we left well established in the truth.

On the 10th of the Eighth Month we went thence about thirty miles by water, passing by Crane's Island, and Swan Island, and Kent Island, in very foul weather and much rain; whereby (our boat being open) we were not only very much wetted, but in great danger of being overset; insomuch that some of the

world thought we could not escape being cast away, till they saw us come to shore next morning. But blessed be God, we were very well. Having got to a little house, dried our clothes by the fire, and refreshed ourselves a little, we betook us to our boat again, and put off from land, sometimes sailing and sometimes rowing; but having very foul weather that day too, we could not get above twelve miles forward. At night we got to land, and made us a fire; some lay by that and some by a fire at a house a little way off. Next morning, the 12th, we passed over the Bay,¹ and sailed about forty miles that day; and making to shore at night, we lay there, some in the boat and some at an ale-house. Next morning, being the First-day, we went six or seven miles to a Friend's house, who was a justice of the peace; where we had a meeting: this was a little above the head of the great Bay. We were almost four days on the water, weary with rowing, yet all was very well: blessed and praised be the Lord. We went next day to another Friend's house, near the head of Hatton's Island, where we had good service amongst Friends and others; as we had also the day following at George Wilson's, a Friend that lived about three miles further; where we had a very precious meeting, there being great tenderness amongst the people. It was the place where the priest was wont to preach.

After this meeting we sailed about ten miles to James Frizby's, a justice of the peace, where, on the 16th, we had a very large meeting, at which, besides Friends, were some hundreds of people it was supposed; amongst whom were several justices, captains and the sheriff, with other persons of note in the world's account. A blessed, heavenly meeting this was; a powerful, thundering testimony for Truth was borne therein; a great sense there was upon the people, and much brokenness and tenderness amongst them. We stayed after meeting till about the eleventh hour at night, that the tide turned for us; then taking boat, we passed that night and next day about fifty miles, to another Friend's house. The two next days we made short journeys, visiting Friends, and on the 20th we had a great meeting at a place called Severn, where there was a meeting-house, but not large enough to hold the people by many. Divers chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people, and it gave them generally great satisfaction.

Two days after, we had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, and had good service. Then spending a day or two

¹ Chesapeake Bay.

in visiting Friends, we passed to the Western Shore;¹ and on the 25th had a large and precious meeting at William Coale's, where the speaker of their assembly, his wife, a justice and several other people of quality were present. Next day we had a meeting six or seven miles further, at Abraham Birkhead's, in a tobacco-house, where many of the magistrates and upper sort of people were, and the speaker of the assembly for that country was convinced: a blessed meeting it was, praised be the Lord!

We travelled next day; and the day following, the 28th, had a large and very precious meeting at Peter Sharp's, on the Cliffs, between thirty and forty miles distant from the former. Many of the magistrates and people of upper rank were at this meeting, and a heavenly meeting it was. The wife of one of the governor's council was convinced, and her husband was very loving to Friends. A justice from Virginia was convinced, and hath a meeting since at his house. Some Papists were at this meeting, and one of them threatned before he came that he would dispute with me; but when he came he was reached and could not oppose. Blessed be the Lord, the truth reached into the hearts of people beyond words, and it is of a good savour amongst them! After the meeting we went about eighteen miles, to James Preston's, a Friend that lived on Patuxent River; and thither came to us an Indian king, with his brother, to whom I spake, and found they understood what I spake of. Having finished our service in Maryland, and intending for Virginia, we had a meeting at Patuxent on the 4th of the Ninth Month, to take our leave of Friends. Many people of all sorts were at it, and a powerful meeting it was.

On the 5th we set sail for Virginia, and in three days came to a place called Nancemond, about two hundred miles from Maryland. In this voyage we met with nothing but what had been usual with us, namely foul weather, storms and rain, and to lie in the woods by a fire in the night. At Nancemond lived a Friend called the widow Wright. Next day we had a great meeting there of Friends and others. There came to it Colonel Dewes, with several other officers and magistrates, who were much taken with the truth declared. After this we hastened towards Carolina; yet had several meetings by the way, wherein we had good service for the Lord; one about four miles from Nancemond Water, which was very precious; and there was a men's and women's meeting settled, for taking care of the

¹ Of Chesapeake Bay.

affairs of the Church. Another very good meeting also we had at William Yarrow's, at Pagan Creek, which was so large that we were fain to be abroad, the house not being large enough to contain the people. A great openness there was, the sound of Truth spread abroad, and had a good savour in the hearts of people: the Lord have the glory for ever!

After this our way to Carolina grew worse, being much of it plashy, and pretty full of cruel bogs and swamps; so that we were commonly wet to the knees, and lay abroad at nights in the woods by a fire; saving one night we got to a poor house at Sommertown,¹ and lay by the fire. The woman of the house had a sense of God upon her. The report of our travel had reached thither, and drawn some that lived beyond Sommertown to that house, in expectation to have seen and heard us (so acceptable was the sound of Truth in that wilderness country): but they missed us. The next day, the 21st of the Ninth Month, having travelled hard through the woods and over many bogs and swamps, we reached Bonner's Creek;² and there we lay that night by the fireside, the woman lending us a mat to lie on.

This was the first house we came to in Carolina; here we left our horses, over-wearied with travel. From hence we went down the creek in a canoe to Macocomocock River;³ and came to Hugh Smith's house, where people of the world came to see us (for there were no Friends in that part of the country), and many of them received us gladly. Amongst others came Nathaniel Batts, who had been governor of Roanoke; he went by the name of Captain Batts, and had been a rude, desperate man. He asked me about a woman in Cumberland, who, he said, he was told, had been healed by our prayers and laying on of our hands, after she had been long sick and given over by the physicians; and he desired to know the certainty of it. I told him we did not glory in such things, but many such things had been done by the power of Christ.

Not far from hence we had a meeting among the people, and they were taken with the truth: blessed be the Lord! Then passing down the river Maratick⁴ in a canoe, we went down the bay Coney-oak,⁵ and came to a captain's house, who was very loving, and lent us his boat, for we were much wetted in the canoe, the water flashing in upon us. With this boat we went to the governor's house; but the water in some places was so

¹ Now Somerton.

² Now Chowan River.

³ Or Bennett's Creek.

⁴ Now Roanoke.

⁵ Now Edenton Bay, N.C.

shallow that the boat, being laden, could not swim; so that we were fain to put off our shoes and stockings, and wade through the water some distance. The governor, with his wife, received us lovingly; but there was at his house a doctor who would needs dispute with us. And truly his opposing us was of good service, giving occasion for the opening of many things to the people concerning the light and spirit of God, which he denied to be in every one, and affirmed that it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to us, and asked him whether or no, when he did lie or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him that reprov'd him for it. He said there was such a thing in him that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong. So we shamed the doctor before the governor and the people; insomuch that the poor man ran out so far that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the governor's that night; and next morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two miles through the woods to a place whither he had sent our boat about to meet us. Taking leave of him, we entered our boat, and went that day about thirty miles to one Joseph Scott's, one of the representatives of the country. There we had a sound, precious meeting; the people were tender, and much desired after meetings. Wherefore at a house about four miles further, we had another meeting, to which the governor's secretary came, who was chief secretary of the Province, and had been formerly convinced.

I went from this place among the Indians, and spake unto them by an interpreter; shewing them that God made all things in six days, and made but one woman for one man; and that God did drown the old world, because of their wickedness. Afterwards I spake to them concerning Christ, shewing them that He did die for all men for their sins, as well as for others; and had enlightned them as well as others; and that if they did that which was evil He would burn them, but if they did well they should not be burned. There was among them their young king, and others of their chief men, who seemed to receive kindly what I said to them.

Having visited the north part of Carolina, and made a little entrance for Truth upon the people there, we began to return towards Virginia, having several meetings in our way, wherein we had very good service for the Lord, the people being generally tender and open; blessed be the Lord! Then I went back about two miles by water and land to the house that I came from.

And the 1st of the Tenth Month we went down by water five miles, and I was fain to put off my shoes and stockings, and so did the rest, and waded through the water, it was so shallow that the boat could not go. And there we had a blessed meeting and a large one. And after the meeting I passed by land and water about five or six miles to Joseph Scott's, where we had a day of washing and sweeping of those that had defiled themselves. On the 2nd of the Tenth Month we passed by water about five miles, and I lay by the fire on a mat all the night. We lay one night at the secretary's house, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore; but the secretary's wife seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe (her husband being from home) and brought us to land. By next morning our boat was sunk; but we got her up, mended her, and went away in her that day about twenty-four miles, the water being rough and troubled and the winds high; but the great power of God was seen, in carrying us safe in that rotten boat. And so we left our boat where we had borrowed her, and took our canoe and came to Captain Batts's, and there lay, most of us, by the fire that night. In our return we had a very precious meeting at Hugh Smith's; praised be the Lord for ever! The people were very tender, and very good service we had amongst them. There was at this meeting an Indian captain who was very loving, and did acknowledge it to be Truth that was spoken. There was also one of the Indian priests, whom they call a Pawaw, who sate soberly among the people. On the 9th of the Tenth Month we got back to Bonner's Creek, where we had left our horses; having spent about eighteen days in the north of Carolina.

Our horses having rested, we set forward for Virginia again, travelling through the woods and bogs as far as we could well reach that day; and at night lay by a fire in the woods. Next day we had a tedious journey, through bogs and swamps, and were exceeding wet and dirty all the day, but dried ourselves at night by a fire. We got that night to Sommertown. When we came near the house, the woman of the house seeing us, spake to her son to keep up their dogs (for both in Virginia and Carolina they generally keep great dogs to guard their houses, living lonely in the woods); but the son said he need not, for their dogs did not use to meddle with these people. Whereupon, when we were come into the house, she told us (before other people) we were like the children of Israel, whom the dogs did not move their tongues against. Here we lay in our

clothes by the fire, as we had done many a night before. Next day, before we went away, we had a meeting; for the people having heard of us, had a great desire to hear us, and a very good meeting we had among them, where we never had one before; praised be the Lord for ever! After the meeting we hasted away. When we had ridden about twenty miles, calling at a house to inquire the way, the people desired us to tarry all night with them, which we did. Next day we came among Friends, after we had travelled about a hundred miles from Carolina into Virginia; in which time we observed a great variety of climates, having passed in a few days from a very cold to a warm and spring-like country. But the power of the Lord is the same in all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the Lord for ever!

We spent about three weeks in travelling through Virginia, sometimes amongst the world's people only, but mostly amongst Friends, having many large and precious meetings in several parts of the country; as at the widow Wright's, where a great many magistrates, officers and other high people came. A most heavenly meeting we had, wherein the power of the Lord was so great that it struck a dread upon the assembly and chained all down, and brought a reverence upon the people's minds. Among the officers was a major, my kinsman;¹ he told me the priest threatned to come and oppose us. But the Lord's power was too strong for him, and stopped him; we were quiet and peaceable, and the people were wonderfully affected with the testimony of Truth; blessed be the Lord for ever! Another very good meeting we had at Crickatrough, at which many considerable people were, many of whom had never heard a Friend before. Many others would have been there and several justices and their wives, but there happening much rain hindered them. Yet the house was full; one justice's wife was there, a tender woman. And after meeting we returned back again. The 18th day we passed about twenty miles by water and rowed part of the way against tide and wind. And we passed Kiketon, and in the night came to Elizabeth River, where we went on shore and called at a house, where we lodged that night, some by the fire and some on a bed in our clothes; and it was so cold that I could feel no warmth by my lodging. The 19th day we passed on a branch of Elizabeth River, and at night we had also a very good and serviceable meeting at John Porter's, which consisted mostly of the world's people; in which the power

¹ Or, according to some MSS., *kinsman to the priest.*

of the Lord was gloriously seen and felt, and it brought the truth above all bad walkers and talkers; blessed be the Lord! On the 23rd day we passed to a Friend's house, being the furthest in Virginia, and two Friends went to the justice's house to visit him. He was very loving and tender to Friends. And then we returned back again, being two miles. And on the 24th we passed by water about twelve miles up Elizabeth River to a Friend's house, and the 25th day we passed by water six miles to a Friend's house called Thomas Goade, where we had service. And the 28th day we came about four miles, where we had a meeting pretty large.

Now this last week we were among Friends, sweeping away that that should not be and working down the bad spirit.

In this county the high sheriff, they said, had an order to take me, but I met him by chance, and he took me by the hand and was very civil and courteous. And we passed about six miles by land and water to take in Friends for Maryland.

Now having finished what service lay upon us in Virginia, on the 30th of the Tenth Month we set sail in an open sloop for Maryland. But having a great storm, and being much wetted, we were glad to get to shore before night; and, walking to a house at Willoughby's Point, we got lodging there that night. The woman of the house was a widow, and a very tender person; she had never received Friends before; but she received us very kindly, with tears. We returned to our boat in the morning, and hoisted up our sail, getting forward as fast and as far as we could; but towards evening a storm rising, we had much to do to get to shore; and our boat being open the water flashed often in, and sometimes over us, so that we were sufficiently wetted. Being got to land, we made a fire in the woods to warm and dry us, and there we lay all that night, the wolves howling about us.

On the 1st of the Eleventh Month we sailed again, but the wind being against us, we made but little way, and were fain to get to shore at Point Comfort, where yet we found but small comfort; for the weather was so cold, that though we made a good fire in the woods to lie by, our water, that we had got for our use, was frozen near the fireside. We made to sea again next day; but the wind being strong and against us, we advanced but little, and passed by a sloop that came from Barbados, on which sloop I had letters from Judge Fretwell, and the sloop being laid up as we were, for the wind was contrary, we were glad to get to land again, and travel about to find some house where we might get us some provisions, for our store was spent. That

night also we lay in the woods; and so extreme cold was the weather, the wind blowing high, and the frost and snow being great, that it was hard for some to abide it.

On the 3rd, the wind setting pretty fair, we fetched it up by sailing and rowing, and got that night to Milford Haven, where we lay at Richard Long's, near Quince's Island. The weather being very cold I lay on a bed in my clothes. Next day we passed by Rappahannock River, where dwell much people; and Friends had a meeting thereaways at a justice's house, who had formerly been at a meeting where I was. We passed over Potomac River also, the winds being high, the water very rough, our sloop open, and the weather extreme cold; and having a meeting thereaways also, some people of the world were convinced; and when we parted thence, some of our company went amongst them. We steered our course for Patuxent River. I sate at the helm most part of the day, and some of the night. About the first hour in the morning we reached James Preston's house on Patuxent River, which is about two hundred miles from Nancemond in Virginia. We were very weary; yet the next day, being the First-day of the week, we went to the meeting not far from thence. The same week we went to an Indian king's cabin, where several of the Indians were, with whom we had a pretty opportunity to discourse; and they carried themselves very lovingly. We went also that week to a general meeting; then about eighteen miles further to John Geary's, where we had a very precious meeting; praised be the Lord God for ever!

But after this the cold grew so exceeding sharp, the frost and snow so extreme, beyond what was usual in that country, that we could hardly endure to be in it. Neither was it easy or safe to stir abroad; yet we got, with some difficulty, six miles through the snow to John Mayor's, where we met with some Friends come from New England, whom we had left there when we came away; and glad we were to see each other after so long and tedious travels. By these Friends we understood that William Edmondson, having been at Rhode Island and New England, was returned to Ireland; that Solomon Eccles, coming from Jamaica and landing at Boston in New England, was taken at a meeting there, and banished to Barbados; that John Stubbs and another Friend were gone into New Jersey, and several other Friends to Barbados, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands. It was matter of joy to us to understand that the work of the Lord went on and prospered, and that Friends were unwearied and diligent in the service.

On the 27th we had a very precious meeting in a tobacco-house; and next day returned to James Preston's, about eighteen miles distant. When we came there, we found his house was burnt to the ground the night before, through the carelessness of a maid-servant; so we lay three nights on the ground by the fire, the weather being very cold. At the same house we had left our boxes and our clothes and other necessaries, and my great chest and James Lancaster's chest, and all was burnt. We made an observation, which was somewhat strange but certainly true, that one day in the midst of this cold weather, the wind turning into the South, it grew so hot that we could hardly bear it, and the next day and night, the wind chopping back into the North, we could hardly endure the cold.

The 2nd of the Twelfth Month we had a glorious meeting at Patuxent; and after it went to John Geary's again, where we waited for a boat to carry us to the monthly meeting at the Cliffs, and a living meeting it was; praised be the Lord! This was on the 6th: another meeting we had on the 9th, wherein the glory of the Lord shined over all; blessed and magnified be His holy name for ever!

From hence we intended to go to Anamessicks; and on the 12th of the month we set forward in our boat; and, travelling by night, ran aground in a creek near Manoke River. There we were fain to stay till morning, when the tide came and lifted her off. In the meantime sitting in an open boat, and the weather being bitterly cold, some had like to have lost the use of their hands, they were so frozen and numbed with cold. In the morning, when the tide had set us afloat again, we got to land, and made a good fire, at which we warmed ourselves well. Then returning to our boat we passed on about ten miles further to a Friend's house, where next day we had a very precious meeting, at which some of the chief of the place were. I went after it to a Friend's house, about four miles off, at the head of Anamessicks River, where, on the day following, the judge of the country and the justice with him came to me, and were very loving, and much satisfied with Friends' order. The next day we had a large meeting in the justice's barn, for his house could not hold the company. There were several of the great folks of that country, and among the rest an opposer; but all was preserved quiet and well; a precious meeting it was, and the people were much affected with the truth; blessed be the Lord! We went next day to see Captain Colburn,¹ who was also a justice, and there we had

¹ William Colebourne, of Somerset Co., Md.

some service; then returning again, we had a very glorious meeting at the same justice's where we met before; to which came many people of account in the world, magistrates, officers and others. It was large, and the power of the Lord was much felt, so that the people were generally well satisfied, and taken with the truth; and there being several merchants and masters of ships from New England, the truth was spread abroad; blessed be the Lord!

A day or two after, we travelled about sixteen miles through the woods and bogs, heading Anamessicks River and Amoroca River, part of which last we went over in a canoe, and came to Manoke,¹ to a friendly woman's house; where, on the 24th, we had a large meeting in a barn. The Lord's living presence was with us, and among the people; blessed be His holy name for evermore! Friends had never had a meeting in those parts before. After this we passed over the river Wicomico, through many bad and watery swamps and marshy ways, and came to James Jones's, a Friend, and a justice of the peace; where we had a large and very glorious meeting; praised be the Lord God. Then passing over the water in a boat, we took horse and travelled about twenty-four miles through woods and troublesome swamps, and came to another justice's house, where we had a very large meeting, much people of the world, and many of considerable account, being at it; and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us, praised for ever be His holy name! This was on the 3rd of the First Month, 1672/3; and on the 5th we had another living and heavenly meeting, at which divers of the justices, with their wives, and many others of the world's people, were; amongst whom we had very good service for the Lord; blessed be His holy name. At this meeting was a woman that lived at Anamessicks, who had been many years in trouble of mind, and sometimes would sit moping near two months together, and hardly speak or mind anything. When I heard of her, I was moved of the Lord to go to her, and tell her that salvation was come to her house. After I had spoken the word of life to her, and entreated the Lord for her, she mended, went up and down with us to meetings, and is since well, blessed be the Lord!

Being now clear of these parts, we left Anamessicks on the 7th, and passing by water about fifty miles, came to a friendly woman's house at Hunger River.² We had very rough weather in our passage to this place, and were in great danger, for the

¹ Manokin, Somerset Co., Md.

² Honga River.

boat had like to have been turned over; and I lost both my hat and cap, yet we recovered them again with much ado; and through the good providence of God we got safe thither; praised be His name! At this place we had a meeting; and amongst the people present were two Papists, a man and a woman; he was very tender, and she confessed to the truth. This meeting was not so large as it would have been if many, who had intended, could have got to it; but the weather was so foul, and the water, by reason of high winds, so rough, that it was not safe to pass upon it. I had no Friend now with me but Robert Widders, the rest having dispersed themselves into several parts of the country in the service of Truth.

As soon as the wind would permit, we passed hence about forty miles by water, rowing most part of the way, and came to the head of Little Choptank River, to Dr. Winsmore's, who was a justice, lately convinced. Here we met with some Friends, with whom we stayed a while; and then went on by land and water, and had a large meeting abroad, for the house we were at could not receive the people. Divers of the magistrates and their wives were present, and a good meeting it was; blessed be the Lord, who is making His name known in that wilderness country! We returned thence to a Friend's house, named William Stephens, where we met the Friends that had been travelling in other parts; and were much refreshed in the Lord together, imparting to each other the good success we had had in the Lord's work, and the prosperity and spreading of Truth in the places where we travelled. John Cartwright and John Jay had been in Virginia, where there were great desires in people after Truth; and being now returned, they stayed but a little with us here, and then set forward for Barbados. Before we left this place we had a very glorious meeting, at which were very many of the world's people; amongst others, the judge of that country, three justices, and the high-sheriff, with their wives. Of the Indians was one called their emperor, an Indian king and their speaker, who all sate very attentive, and carried themselves very lovingly. An establishing, settling meeting it was. This was on the 23rd of the First Month.

On the 24th we went by water ten miles to the Indian town where this emperor dwelt, whom I had acquainted before of my coming, and desired him to get their kings and councils together. In the morning the emperor came himself, and had me to the town; and they were generally come together, and had their speaker and other officers with them, and the old

empress sate among them. And, to give them their due, they sate very grave and sober, and were all very attentive, beyond many called Christians. I had some with me that could interpret to them, and we had a very good meeting with them, and of very great service it was; for it gave them a good esteem for Truth and Friends; blessed be the Lord!

After this we had many meetings in several parts of that country, one at William Stephens's, which was a general meeting once a month; others at Tredhaven Creek, Wye, Reconow Creek, and at Thomas Taylor's in Kent Island. Most of these were large, there being many of the world's people at them, divers of them of the most considerable in the world's account. The Lord's power and living presence were with us, and plentifully manifested amongst the people; by which their hearts were tendered and opened to receive the truth, which had a good savour amongst them; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever. And many more would have been at the meeting, but the rain hindered. On the 7th day of the Second Month we went over a creek in a boat about a mile from land, to a Friend's house, and on the 8th we passed over the Bay to the Western Shore, about fourteen miles to a Friend's house, where we met with several Friends. I sent for Thomas Thurston to bring the truth over his bad actions, and had a meeting with him.

On the 9th I went about seven miles to the speaker of the assembly's house, who is the judge of that country and had much desired me before. He and his wife were very loving. And on the 10th we had a very living meeting in a school-house, and there were several people of account; a judge's wife and one of the council's wife, and one of the assembly were there, and very loving. The 11th day we passed by water about thirty miles down the Bay to a Friend's house on the Cliffs, and on the 20th we had a meeting at Patuxent meeting-place, about a mile from our Friend's house where we lodged over the Creek.

And this week we had much writing and answering; and on the 27th day we went a mile to the meeting and the heavenly presence was felt among them. On the 28th I passed over the Creek in a canoe and thence to Leonard's Creek about three miles to see for a ship.

And on the 29th day we went down a creek called Hopper's Creek two miles in a boat, and on the 30th I had a good speech with an Indian that could speak English, and their king was by.

On the 1st of the Third Month I went a mile to an Indian's cabin, where the king and his company were, and stayed a

while with them. On the 6th we passed ten miles and at night had a precious meeting at the house of Peter Sharp, and on the 8th there came one of the governor's council to a house where I was, and I had discourse with him. He is a great Papist; he was civil but dark in Egypt.

On the 15th day there came a justice from Potomack in Virginia, a pretty man, and had been under persecution and threatned by the priest and others. He and his man came forty miles on foot. He hath great love to the truth.

On the 17th day of the Third Month began the general meeting of the Province, which held four days.¹ On the first of these, the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the Church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened unto them, to their edification and comfort. The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, of which divers of considerable account in the government, and many others of the world's people, were present, who were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful, glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was seen and felt over all; blessed and praised be His holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!

Now having travelled through most parts of that country and visited most of the plantations, and had very good service for the Lord in America, and having sounded the alarm to all people where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits begin to be clear of those parts of the world, and draw towards Old England again. Yet we felt freedom from the Lord to stay over the general meeting for the Province of Maryland, that we might see Friends generally together before we departed.

After this meeting we took our leave of Friends, parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, that was livingly felt amongst us; and went by water to the place where we were to take shipping, many Friends accompanying us thither and tarrying with us that night. The ship was called the *Society*, of Bristol. On the 21st of the Third Month, we set sail for England; the same day Richard Covell came on board our ship, having had his own taken from him by the Dutch. We had foul weather and contrary winds, which caused us to cast anchor often, so that we

¹ This general meeting was held at Betty's Cove, on Miles River.

were till the 31st ere we could get past the Capes of Virginia and come out into the main sea. But after this we made good speed, and on the 28th of the Fourth Month cast anchor at King's Road, which is the harbour for Bristol. We had in our passage very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceeding rough, the waves rising like mountains; so that the masters and sailors wondred at it, and said they never saw the like before. But though the wind was strong, it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed away before it; and the great God who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, of earth, and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The great Lord God of heaven and earth and creator of all carried us by His high hand and mighty power and wisdom over all and through many dangers and perils by sea and land; and perils by deceitful professors without possession, who were as the raving waves of the sea but made a calm; and perils of wolves, bears, tigers and lions; and perils of rattlesnakes and other venomous creatures of like poisonous nature; and perils through great swamps and bogs and wildernesses where no way was but for such like creatures, where we travelled and lodged in the nights by the fires; and great perils through the Indian country in the woods and wildernesses by men-eaters; and great perils by night through the cold, rains, frost and snow, in lying in the wood and wilderness several nights together until some of our company had their hands and fingers numbed, whenas some of the world at such times have had their noses and some their fingers and toes frozen off. I was an eye-witness of some of these things.

The same good hand of Providence that went with us, and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return, and brought us safely back again; thanksgiving and praises be to His holy name for ever! Many sweet and precious meetings we had on board the ship during this voyage (commonly two a week), wherein the blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and often break in upon and tender the company.

When we came into Bristol Harbour, there lay a man-of-war, and the press-master came on board us to press our men. We had a meeting at that time in the ship with the seamen before we went to shore, and the press-master sate down with us and stayed the meeting, and was very well satisfied with it. After the meeting I spake to him to leave two of the men he had

pressed in our ship (for he had pressed four), one of whom was a lame man; and he said at my request he would.

We went on shore that afternoon, and got to Shirehampton, where we got horses, and rode to Bristol that night, being the 28th of the Fourth Month, where Friends received us with great joy. In the evening I writ a letter to my wife, to give her notice of my landing, as follows:

DEAR HEART,—This day we came into Bristol near night, from the seas; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course, who is the God of the whole earth, of the seas and winds, who made the clouds His chariots, beyond all words, blessed be His name for ever! Who is over all in His great power and wisdom, Amen. Robert Widders and James Lancaster are with me, and we are well; glory to the Lord for ever, who hath carried us through many perils, perils by water and in storms, perils by pirates and robbers, perils in the wilderness and amongst false professors. Praises to Him whose glory is over all for ever, Amen. Therefore mind the fresh life, and live all to God in it. I do intend (if the Lord will) to stay a while this-away; it may be till the fair. So no more, but my love to all Friends.

G. F.

Bristol, the 28th Day of the 4th Month, 1673.

Between my return and the fair, my wife came out of the North to Bristol to me, and her son-in-law Thomas Lower with two of her daughters, Sarah Fell and Rachel Fell, came with her. And many Friends from several parts of the nation came to the fair; and glorious, powerful meetings we had at that time, for the Lord's infinite power and life was over all. In the fresh openings whereof, I was moved to declare of "Three Estates and three Teachers," viz.: "God was the first teacher of man and woman in Paradise; and as long as they kept to and under His teaching, they kept in the image of God, in His likeness, in righteousness and holiness, and in dominion over all that He had made; in the blessed state, in the Paradise of God. But when they hearkened to the serpent's false teaching (who was out of Truth), disobeyed God and obeyed the serpent, in feeding upon that which God forbade them, then they lost the image of God, the righteousness and holiness, and came under the power of Satan, and were turned out of Paradise, out of the blessed into the cursed state. Then the promise of God was that the Seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, break his power that man and woman were under, and destroy his works. So here were three states and three teachers:

"God was the first teacher in Paradise; and whilst man kept under His teaching he was happy. The serpent was the second

teacher; and when man followed his teaching he came into misery, into the fall from the image of God, from righteousness and holiness, and from the power that he had over all that God had made; and came under the serpent, whom he had power over before. Christ Jesus was the third teacher; of whom God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him'; and who Himself saith, 'Learn of me.' This is the true gospel-teacher, who bruises the head of the serpent, the false teacher, and the head of all false teachers, and of all false religions, false ways, false worships and false Churches. Now Christ, who said, 'Learn of me,' and of whom the Father said, 'Hear ye him,' said, 'I am the Way to God, I am the Truth, I am the Life, and the true Light.' So as man and woman come up again to God, and are renewed up into His image, righteousness and holiness by Christ, thereby they come into the Paradise of God, the state which man was in before he fell; and into a higher state than that, to sit down in Christ that never fell. Therefore the Son of God is to be heard in all things, who is the Saviour and Redeemer; who laid down His life, and bought His sheep with His precious blood.

"We can challenge all the world. Who hath anything to say against our way? our Saviour? our Redeemer? our Prophet, whom God hath raised up that we may hear, and whom we must hear in all things? Who hath anything against our Shepherd, Christ Jesus, who leads and feeds us, and we know His heavenly voice? Who hath anything against our Bishop, in whose mouth was never guile found, who doth oversee us in His pasture of life, that we do not go astray from God, and out of His fold? Who hath anything against our Priest, Christ Jesus, made higher than the heavens, who gives us freely, and commands us to give freely? Who hath anything to say against our Leader and Counsellor, Christ Jesus, who never sinned; but is holy, and harmless, and separate from sinners? God hath commanded us to hear Him; and He saith, 'Learn of me'; and if we should disobey God's and Christ's command, we should be like our father Adam and mother Eve, who disobeyed God's command, and hearkened to the serpent's teaching.

"Man commands, and would force us to hear the hirelings, who plead for sin and the body of death to the grave; which doctrine savours of the Devil's teaching, not of Christ's; but we resolve to hear the Son, as both He and the Father command, and in hearing the Son we hear the Father also, as the Scripture testifies. For the author to the Hebrews says, 'God, who at

sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son'; mark that, God hath spoken unto us (His apostles, disciples, Church) by His Son. And whereas some have objected, that although Christ did speak both to His disciples and to the Jews, in the days of His flesh, yet since His resurrection and ascension He doth not speak now: the answer is, that as God did then speak by His Son in the days of His flesh, so the Son, Christ Jesus, doth now speak by His Spirit. Wherefore John saith in the Revelations, 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches' (Rev. ii.). And Christ is said to speak from heaven: 'See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven' (Heb. xii. 25). They that resisted Moses' law, who spake on earth, died for it without mercy, which was a natural death; but they that refuse Him that speaks from heaven, neglect and slight their own salvation, and so die a spiritual death through unbelief and hardness of heart. Therefore was the exhortation given of old, 'To-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation,' etc. (Heb. iii. 15, etc.). So that they who neglect or refuse to hear the voice of Christ, now speaking from heaven in this His gospel-day, harden their hearts.

"Let all therefore mark well these three states and teachers: The God of Truth was the first teacher, while man was in Paradise and in innocency. The serpent was the second teacher, the false teacher, who by his false teaching came to be the god of the world which lies in wickedness. Christ Jesus, that bruises the serpent's head, is the third teacher, who saith, 'Learn of me,' and of whom God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him'; and of whom the testimony of the saints of old was, 'God hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' Thus they that come to be renewed up again into the divine, heavenly image, in which man was at first made, will know the same God, that was the first teacher of Adam and Eve in Paradise, to speak to them now by His Son, who changes not; glory be to His name for ever!"

Many deep and precious things were opened in those meetings by the Eternal Spirit, which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God.

After I had finished my service for the Lord in that city, I

departed thence into Gloucestershire and into Wiltshire, where also we had many blessed meetings.

At Slaughterford, in Wiltshire, we had a very good meeting, though we met there with much opposition from some who had set themselves against women's meetings; which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends, for the benefit and advantage of the Church of Christ. That the faithful women, who were called to the belief of the truth, being made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation that men are, might in like manner come into the possession and practice of the gospel order, and therein be meet-helpers unto the men in the restoration, in the service of Truth, in the affairs of the Church, as they are outwardly in civil or temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform and discharge their offices and services in the house of God, whereby the poor might be better taken care of and looked after, and the younger sort instructed, informed and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons propounding marriage more closely and strictly inquired into in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the Church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love.

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Notwithstanding the opposition the meeting was a very good and serviceable one, for occasion was thereby administered to answer their objections and cavils, and to open the services of women in and for the Church. At this the women's meetings for that county were established in the blessed power of God.

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After which we went upwards, visiting Friends till we came to Kingston-upon-Thames, where my wife and her daughter Rachel met me. I made no long stay at Kingston, but went to London, where I found the Baptists and Socinians, with some old apostates, grown very rude, having printed many books against us; so that I had a great travail in the Lord's power before I went to meetings in London. But blessed be the Lord, His power came over them, and all their lying, wicked, scandalous books were answered.

I made a short journey into some parts of Essex and Middlesex, visiting Friends at their meetings, and their children at

their schools, and returned soon to London. After some service there among Friends, I went to Kingston, and then returned by Kingston to London, whither I felt my spirit drawn, having heard that many Friends were taken before the magistrates, and divers imprisoned in London and other towns, for opening their shop-windows on holy days and fast days and for bearing testimony against all such observations of days. Which Friends could not but do, knowing that the true Christians did not observe the Jews' holy days in the apostles' times, neither could we observe the Heathens' and Papists' holy days which have been set up amongst those called Christians since the apostles' days. For we were redeemed out of days by Christ Jesus, and brought into His day that hath sprung from on high, and are come into Him who is Lord of the Jewish Sabbath and the substance of the Jews' signs.

CHAPTER XXII

THE WORCESTER IMPRISONMENT AND RETURN TO SWARTHMOOR

1673-1675

AFTER I had stayed some time in London I took leave of Friends there, and went into the country with my wife and her daughter Rachel, to William Penn's at Rickmansworth, whither Thomas Lower came the next day to accompany us in our journey northward. After we had visited Friends thereabouts, we passed to Bray D'Oyley's at Adderbury in Oxfordshire, where, on the First-day, we had a large and precious meeting.

At night, as I was sitting at supper, I felt I was taken; yet I said nothing then to anybody of it. But getting up next morning before day, we travelled into Worcestershire, and went to John Halford's, at Armscot in Tredington parish, where we had a very large and precious meeting in his barn, the Lord's powerful presence being amongst us. After the meeting, Friends being most of them gone, as I was sitting in the parlour, discoursing with some Friends that staid, one Henry Parker, called a justice, came to the house, and with him one Rowland Hains, a priest of Honington, in Warwickshire. This justice heard of the meeting by means of a woman Friend, who being nurse to a child of his, asked leave of her mistress to go to the meeting to see me; and she, speaking of it to her husband, he and the priest conspired together to come and break it up and apprehend me. But from their sitting long at dinner, it being the day on which his child was christened, they did not come till the meeting was over, and Friends mostly gone. But though there was no meeting when they came, yet I being in the house, who was the person they aimed at, the said Henry Parker took me, and Thomas Lower for company with me; and though he had nothing to lay to our charge, sent us both to Worcester jail, by a strange sort of mittimus, a copy of which here followeth:

To the constables of Tredington, in the said county of Worcester, and to all constables and tithing-men of the several townships and villages within the said parish of Tredington, and to the keeper of the goal for the county of Worcester.

Complaint being made to me, being one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Worcester, that within the said

parish of Tredington in the said county, there has of late been several meetings of divers persons, to the number of four hundred persons and upwards at a time, upon pretence of exercise of religion, otherwise than what is established by the laws of England. And many of the said persons, some of them were teachers, and came from the North, and others from the remote parts of the kingdom: which tends to the prejudice of the reformed and established religion, and may prove prejudicial to the publick peace. And it appearing to me that there was, this present day, such a meeting as aforesaid, to the number of two hundred or thereabouts, at Armscot, in the said parish of Tredington, and that George Fox of London, and Thomas Lower of the parish of Creed, in the county of Cornwall, were present at the said meeting, and the said George Fox was teacher or speaker at the said meeting; and no satisfactory account of their settlement or place of habitation appearing to me, and forasmuch as the said George Fox and Thomas Lower refused to give sureties to appear at the next Sessions of the peace to be holden for the said county, to answer the breach of the common laws of England, and what other matters should be objected against them; these are, therefore, in His Majesty's name, to will and require you, or either of you, forthwith to convey the bodies of the said George Fox and Thomas Lower to the county-goal of Worcester aforesaid, and there safely to be kept, until they shall be from thence delivered by due course of law; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalf. Dated the 17th day of December, in the 25th year of His Majesty's reign over England, etc.

HENRY PARKER.

Being thus made prisoners, without any probable appearance of being released before the Quarter Sessions at soonest, we got some Friends to accompany my wife and her daughter into the North, and we were conveyed to Worcester jail. From whence, by that time I thought my wife could be got home, I writ her the following letter:

DEAR HEART,—Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken; be content with the will of the Lord God. For when I was at John Rous's at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner, and when I was at Bray Doily's in Oxfordshire, as I sate at supper, I saw I was taken; and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all; blessed be His holy name for ever!

G. F.

Since my imprisonment I had understood that my mother, an ancient woman in Leicestershire, desired earnestly to see me before she died: and when she heard that I was stopt, it strake her to the heart and killed her, as I received a letter from a doctor of that country.

I did in verity love her as ever one could a mother, and when

I had read the letter of her death sudden travail came upon me, and when my spirit had got through I saw her in the resurrection and my father in the flesh also.

When we had been some time in the jail, we thought fit to lay our case before him who was called the Lord Windsor, who was the lord-lieutenant of Worcestershire, and before the deputy-lieutenants and other magistrates.

But no enlargement did we receive by our application to the Lord Windsor. And although Thomas Lower received several letters from his brother, Dr. Lower, who was one of the King's physicians, concerning his liberty, and one, by his procurement, from Henry Savile, who was of the King's bed-chamber, to his brother, called the Lord Windsor, to the same effect; yet seeing it related only to his enlargement, not mine, so great was his love and regard to me that he would not seek his own liberty singly, but kept the letter by him unsent. So we were continued prisoners till the next general Quarter Sessions; at which time divers Friends from several places being in the town, did speak to the justices concerning us, who answered fair and said we should be discharged. For many of the justices seemed to dislike the severity of Parker's proceedings against us, and declared an averseness to ensnare us by the tender of the oaths. Some Friends also had spoken with Lord Windsor, who likewise spake them fair, so that it was the general discourse that we should be discharged. We heard also that Dr. Lower had procured a letter from Colonel Sands at London, to some of the justices in favour of us. Some of the justices also spake to some Friends to acquaint us that they would have us speak but little in the Court, lest we should provoke any of the Bench; and they would warrant we should be discharged.

We were not called till the last day of the Sessions, which was the 21st of the Eleventh Month, 1673/4. When we came in, they were stricken with paleness in their faces, and it was some time before anything was spoken; insomuch that a butcher in the hall said, "What! are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them?" At length, before they spake to us, Justice Parker made a long speech on the Bench, much to the same effect as was contained in the mittimus; often mentioning the common laws, but not instancing any that we had broken; adding that he thought it a milder course to send us two to jail, than to put his neighbours to the loss of two hundred pounds, which they must have suffered had he put the law

in execution against conventicles. But in this he was either very ignorant or very deceitful, for there being no meeting when he came, or any to inform, he had no evidence to convict us or his neighbours by.

When Parker had ended his speech, the justices spake to us, and began with Thomas Lower, whom they examined as to the cause of his coming into that country; of which he gave them a full and plain account. Sometimes I put in a word while they were examining him, and then they told me they were upon his examination, but that when it came to my turn I should have free liberty to speak, for they would not hinder me; but I should have full time, and they would not ensnare us. When they had done with him, they asked me an account of my travel, which I gave them, as is mentioned before, but more largely. And whereas Justice Parker, to aggravate the case, had made a great noise of "there being some from London, some from the North, some from Cornwall, and some from Bristol, at the house where I was taken"; I told them that this was in a manner all but one family, for there was none from London but myself; none from the North but my wife and her daughter; none from Cornwall but my son-in-law, Thomas Lower; nor any from Bristol but one Friend, a merchant there; who met us, as it were, providentially, to assist my wife and her daughter in their journey homewards, when by our imprisonment they were deprived of our company and help. When I had spoken, the chairman, whose name was Simpson,¹ an old Presbyterian, said, "Your relation or account is very innocent."

Then he and Parker whispered a while together, and after that the chairman stood up and said, "You, Mr. Fox, are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but, that we may be the better satisfied, will you take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy?" I told them they had said they would not ensnare us; but this was a plain snare; for they knew we could not take any oath. However, they caused the oath to be read; and when they had done, I told them I never took an oath in my life, but I had always been true to the Government; that I was cast into the dungeon at Derby, and kept a prisoner six months there, because I would not take up arms against King Charles at Worcester fight; and for going to meetings was carried up out of Leicestershire, and brought before Oliver Cromwell, as a plotter to bring in King Charles. While I was speaking, they cried, "Give him the book"; and

¹ Leonard Simpson.

I said, "The book saith, 'Swear not at all.'" Then they cried, "Take him away, jailer"; and I still speaking on, they were urgent upon the jailer, crying, "Take him away; we shall have a meeting here; why do you not take him away? that fellow" [meaning the jailer] "loves to hear him preach." Then the jailer drew me away, and as I was turning from them, I stretched out my arm and said, "The Lord forgive you, who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ." Thus they apparently brake their promise in the face of the country; for they promised I should have free liberty to speak, but now they would not give it me; and they promised they would not ensnare us, yet now they tendered me the oaths on purpose to ensnare me.

After I was had away Thomas Lower was stayed behind in the Court, and they told him he was at liberty. Then he would have reasoned with them, asking them why I might not be set at liberty as well as he, seeing we were both taken together, and our case was alike. But they told him they would not hear him, saying, "You may be gone about your business, for we have nothing more to say to you, seeing you are discharged." And this was all he could get from them. Wherefore after the Court was risen, he went to speak with them at their chamber, desiring to know what cause they had to detain his father, seeing they had discharged him. Whereupon Simpson threatned him, saying, "If you be not content, we will tender you the oaths also, and send you to your father." To which he replied they might do that if they thought fit; but whether they sent him or not, he intended to go, and wait upon his father in prison, for that was now his business in that country. Then said Justice Parker to him, "Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had not cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had so great a meeting that the parson of the parish complained to me that he has lost the greatest part of his parishioners: so that when he comes among them he has scarcely any auditors left?" "I have heard," replied Thomas Lower, "that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock (but once, it may be, or twice in a year, to gather up his tithes), that it was but charity in my father to visit such a forlorn and forsaken flock; and therefore thou hadst no cause to send my father to prison for visiting them, or for teaching, instructing, and directing them to Christ, their true Teacher, who had so little comfort or benefit from their pretended pastor, who comes amongst them only to seek for his 'gain from his quarter.'" Upon this

the justices fell a-laughing, for it seems Dr. Crowder¹ (who was the priest they spake of) was then in the room, sitting among them, though Thomas Lower did not know him; and he had the wit to hold his tongue, and not undertake to vindicate himself in a matter so notoriously known to be true. But when Thomas Lower was come from them, the justices did so play upon Dr. Crowder, that he was pitifully ashamed, and so nettled with it that he threatned to sue Thomas Lower in the Bishop's Court, upon an action of defamation. Which when Thomas Lower heard, he sent him word that he would answer his suit, let him begin it when he would; and would bring his whole parish in evidence against him. This cooled the doctor. Yet some time after he came to the prison, pretending that he had a mind to dispute with me, and to talk with Thomas Lower about that business; and he brought another with him, he himself being then a prebendary at Worcester.

When he came in he asked me what I was in prison for. "Dost thou not know that?" said I. "Wast not thou upon the Bench when Simpson and Parker tendered the oath to me? And hadst not thou a hand in it?" Then he said, "It is lawful to swear; and Christ did not forbid swearing before a magistrate; but swearing by the sun, and the like." I bid him prove that by the Scriptures, but he could not. Then he brought that saying of Paul's, "All things are lawful unto me" (1 Cor. vi. 12). "And if," said he, "all things were lawful unto him, then swearing was lawful unto him." "By this argument," said I, "thou mayest also affirm that drunkenness, adultery and all manner of sin and wickedness is lawful also, as well as swearing." "Why," said Dr. Crowder, "do you hold that adultery is unlawful?" "Yes," said I, "that I do." "Why then," said he, "this contradicts the saying of St. Paul." Thereupon I called to the prisoners and the jailer, to hear what doctrine Dr. Crowder had laid down as orthodox, viz., that drunkenness, swearing, adultery and such like things were lawful. Then he said he would give it under his hand; and took a pen, but wrote another thing than that which he had spoken. Then, turning to Thomas Lower, he asked him whether he would answer what he had there written, who undertook it. Whereupon, when he had threatned Thomas Lower to sue him in the Bishop's Court, for speaking so abusively of him before the justices, and Thomas had bid him begin when he pleased, for he would answer him, and bring his parishioners in evidence against him, he went away in a great fret, grumbling

¹ Joseph Crowther, B.D. (*d* 1689).

all the way as he went. A few days after Thomas Lower sent him an answer to the paper he had written and left with him; which answer a Friend of Worcester carried to him; and he read it and said he would reply to it; but never did, though he often sent him word he would do it.

Soon after the Sessions, the Term coming on, an *habeas corpus* was sent down to Worcester for the sheriff to bring me up to the King's Bench Bar. Whereupon the under-sheriff, having made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey me to London, we set out the 29th of the Eleventh Month, and came to London the 2nd of the Twelfth, the ways being very deep, and the waters out. Next day, notice being given that I was brought up, the sheriff was ordered to bring me into Court. I went accordingly, and appeared before Judge Wild;¹ and both he and the lawyers were pretty fair, so that I had time to speak, to clear my innocency, and shew my wrong imprisonment. After the return of the writ was entered, I was ordered to be brought into Court again next day.

According, in the morning I walked in the hall till the sheriff came to me (for he trusted me to go whither I would), and it being early, we went into the Court of the King's Bench, and sate there among the lawyers almost an hour till the judges came in. When they came in, the sheriff took off my hat; and after a while I was called. The Lord's presence was with me, and His power I felt was over all. I stood and heard the King's attorney, whose name was Jones, who indeed spake notably on my behalf, as did also another counsellor after him; and the judges, who were three, were all very moderate, not casting any reflecting words at me. I stood still in the power and spirit of the Lord, seeing how He was at work and the earth was helping the woman. When they had done, I applied to the Chief Justice to speak; and he said I might. Then I related the cause of our journey, the manner of our being taken and committed, and the time of our imprisonment until the Sessions; with a brief account of our trial there, and what I had offered to the justices then, as a declaration that I could make or sign, instead of the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. When I had done, the Chief Justice said I was to be turned over to the King's Bench, and the sheriff of Worcester to be discharged of me. He said also they would consider further of it; and if they found any error in the record, or in the justice's proceedings, I should be set at liberty. So a tipstaff was called to take me into custody, and

¹ Sir William Wilde, Bart. (1611?–1679).

he delivered me to the keeper of the King's Bench, who let me go to a Friend's house, where I lodged, and appointed to meet me at Edward Mann's, in Bishopsgate Street, next day.

But after this Justice Parker, or some other of my adversaries, moved the Court that I might be sent back to Worcester. Whereupon another day was appointed for another hearing, and they had four counsellors that pleaded against me. George Stroude, a counsellor, pleaded for me, and was pleading before I was brought into Court; but they bore him down, and prevailed with the judges to give judgment that I should be sent down to Worcester Sessions. Only they told me I might put in bail to appear at the Sessions, and to be of good behaviour in the meantime. I told them I never was of ill behaviour in my life; and that they, the four judges, might as well put the oath to me there, as send me to Worcester to be ensnared by the justices, in their putting the oath to me, and then premuniring me, who never took an oath in my life. But I told them if I brake my Yea and Nay, I was content to suffer the same penalty that they should who break their oaths. This alteration of the judges' minds in my case proceeded, as was thought, from some false informations that my adversary, Justice Parker, had given against me; for between the times of my former appearance and this, he had spread abroad a very false and malicious story, viz., that there were many substantial men with me, out of several parts of the nation, when he took me; and that we had a design or plot in hand; and that Thomas Lower stayed with me in prison, long after he was set at liberty, to carry on our design. This was spoken in the Parliament-house, insomuch, that if I had not been brought up to London when I was, I should have been stopped at Worcester, and Thomas would have been recommitted with me. But although these lies were easily disproved, and laid open to Parker's shame, yet would not the judges alter their last sentence, but remanded me to Worcester jail; only this favour was granted, that I might go down my own way, and at my own leisure; provided I would be without fail there by the Assize, which was to begin the 2nd of the Second Month following.

So I stayed in and about London till toward the latter end of the First Month, 1674, and then went down leisurely (for I was not able to abide hasty and hard travelling), and came into Worcester on the last day of the First Month, being the day before the judges came to town. On the 2nd of the Second Month I was brought from the jail to an inn near the hall,

that I might be in readiness if I should be called. But not being called that day, the jailer came to me at night, and told me I might go home (meaning to the jail). Whereupon Gerrard Roberts of London being with me, he and I walked down together to the jail without any keeper. Next day being brought up again, they set a little boy of about eleven years old to be my keeper. I came to understand that Justice Parker and the clerk of the peace had given order that I should not be put into the calendar, that so I might not be brought before the judge: wherefore I got the judge's son to move in Court that I might be called; and thereupon I was called, and brought up to the Bar before Judge Turner, my old adversary, who had tendered me the oaths and premunired me once before at Lancaster.

After silence made, he asked me what I desired: I answered, "My liberty, according to justice." He said I lay upon the oath; and asked if I would take it. I desired he would hear the manner of my being taken and committed, and he being silent, I gave him an account thereof at large, as is before set down, letting him also know that since my imprisonment I had understood that my mother, who was an ancient, tender woman, and had desired to see me before she died, hearing that I was stopt and imprisoned in my journey, so that I was not likely to come to see her, was so struck by it that she died soon after: which was a very hard thing to me. When I had done speaking, he again asked me to take the oaths; I told him I could not take any oath for conscience sake, and that I did believe he and they all knew in their consciences that it was for conscience sake I could not swear at all. I declared amongst them what I could say, and what I could sign, in owning the King's right to the government, and in denying the Pope and his pretended powers, and all plotters, plots and conspiracies against the government. Some thought the judge had a mind to set me at liberty, for he saw they had nothing justly against me; but Parker, who committed me, endeavoured to incense him against me, telling him that I was a ringleader; that many of the nation followed me, and he knew not what it might come to; with many more envious words, which some that stood near took notice of; who also observed that the judge gave him no answer to it. However, the judge, willing to ease himself, referred me and my case to the Sessions again, bidding the justices make an end of it there, and not trouble the Assizes any more with me. So I was continued prisoner chiefly (as it seemed) through the means of Justice Parker, who, in this case, was as false as

envious; for he had promised that he would endeavour to have me set at liberty; yet he was the worst enemy I had in Court, as some of the Court observed and reported. Other justices were very loving, and promised that I should have the liberty of the town for my health's sake, to lodge at a Friend's house till the Sessions; which accordingly I had, and the people were very civil and respectful to me.

Between this time and the Sessions I had some service for the Lord, with several people that came to visit me. At one time three nonconformist priests and two lawyers came to discourse with me; and one of the priests undertook to prove that the Scriptures are the only rule of life. Whereupon, after I had plunged him about his proof, I had a fit opportunity to open unto them the right and proper use, service, and excellency of the Scriptures; and also to shew that the Spirit of God, which was given to every one to profit withal—the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared unto all men, and teacheth them that obey it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; that this is the most fit, proper and universal rule, which God hath given to all mankind to rule, direct, govern and order their lives by.

Another time came a Common-Prayer priest, and some people with him. He asked me if I was grown up to perfection. I told him what I was, I was by the grace of God. He replied it was a modest and civil answer. Then he urged the words of John, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." And he asked what did I say to that. I said, with the same Apostle, "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us"; who came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know "the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin." Then the priest was asked whether Adam was not perfect before he fell, and whether all God's works were not perfect. The priest said there might be a perfection, as Adam had, and a falling from it. But I told him, "There is a perfection in Christ, above Adam and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; and for the perfecting of whom they had their gifts from Christ; therefore, they that denied perfection denied the work of the ministry, and the

gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints." The priest said, "We must always be striving." But I told him it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome. I told him also that Paul, who cried out of the body of death, did also "thank God, who gave him the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ." So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." The priest said, "Job was not perfect." I told him, "God said, Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil: and the Devil was forced to confess that God had set a hedge about him, which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible heavenly power." The priest said, "Job said, 'He chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.'" I told him that was his mistake; for it was not Job who said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job. "Well, but," said the priest, "what say you to that Scripture, 'The justest man that is, sinneth seven times a day'?" "Why, truly," said I, "I say, there is no such Scripture"; and with that the priest's mouth was stopped. Many services I had with several sorts of people between the Assizes and the Sessions.

The next Quarter Sessions began the 29th of the Second Month, and I was called before the justices. The chairman was Judge Street,¹ who was a judge in the Welsh circuit.

When the indictment was read, the judge asked me if I was guilty. I said, "Nay, for it is a great bundle of lies," which I shewed and proved to the judge in several particulars which I instanced; asking him if he did not know in his conscience that they were lies. He said, "It is their form." I said, "It is not a true form." He asked me again whether I was guilty. I told him nay, I was not guilty of the matter, nor of the form; for I was against the Pope and Popery, and did acknowledge and should set my hand to that. Then the judge told the jury what they should say, and what they should do, and what they should write on the backside of the indictment; and as he said, they did. But before they gave in their verdict I told them that it was for Christ's sake, and in obedience to His and the Apostle's command, that I could not swear; and "therefore," said I, "take heed what ye do, for before His judgment-seat ye shall all be brought." The judge said, "This is canting." I said, "If to confess our Lord and Saviour, and to obey His command,

¹ Sir Thomas Street (1626-1696), M.P. for Worcester.

be called 'canting' by a judge of a Court, it is to little purpose for me to say more among you: yet ye shall see that I am a Christian, and shall shew forth Christianity, and my innocency shall be manifest." So the jailer led me out of the Court; and the people were generally tender, as if they had been in a meeting. Soon after I was brought in again, and the jury found the bill against me, which I traversed; and then I was asked to put in bail till the next Sessions, and the jailer's son offered to be bound for me. But I stopped him, and warned Friends not to meddle; for I told them there was a snare in that: yet I told the justices that I could promise to appear if the Lord gave health and strength and I were at liberty. Some of the justices were loving, and would have stopped the rest from indicting me, or putting the oath to me; but Justice Street, who was the chairman, said he must go according to law. So I was sent to prison again; yet within two hours after, through the moderation of some of the justices, I had liberty given me to go at large till next Quarter Sessions. These moderate justices, it was said, desired Justice Parker to write to the King for my liberty, or for a *noli prosequi* (as they called it), because they were satisfied I was not such a dangerous person as I had been represented. This, it was said, he promised them to do; but he did it not.

After I had got a copy of the indictment, I went to London, visiting Friends as I went. When I came there, some that were earnest to get me out of the hands of those envious justices that sought to premunire me at Worcester, would needs be tampering again, to bring me before the judges of the King's Bench: whereupon I was brought again by a *habeas corpus* before them. I tendered them a paper, in which was contained what I could say instead of the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as follows:

This I do in the truth, and in the presence of God declare that King Charles the Second is lawful King of this realm, and of all other his dominions; that he was brought in, and set up King over this realm by the power of God: and I have nothing but love and goodwill to him and all his subjects, and desire his prosperity and eternal good.

I do utterly abhor and deny the Pope's power and supremacy, and all his superstitions and idolatrous inventions: and do affirm that he hath no power to absolve sin. I do abhor and detest his murdering of princes or other people, by plots or contrivances. And likewise I do deny all plots and contrivances, and plotters and contrivers against the King and his subjects; knowing them to be the works of darkness, the fruits of an evil spirit, against the

peace of the kingdom, and not from the Spirit of God, the fruit of which is love. I dare not take an oath, because it is forbidden by Christ and the Apostle; but if I break my Yea or Nay, let me suffer the same penalty as they that break their oaths.

GEORGE FOX.

But the business being so far proceeded in at Worcester, they would not meddle in it, but left me to appear again before the justices at the next general Quarter Sessions at Worcester.

Meanwhile the Yearly Meeting of Friends came on, at which (through the liberty granted me till the Sessions) I was present, and exceeding glorious the meetings were beyond expression; blessed be the Lord.

After the Yearly Meeting I set forward for Worcester, the Sessions drawing on, which were held in the Fifth Month. When I was called to the Bar, and the indictment read, some scruple arising among the jury concerning it, the judge of the Court, Justice Street, caused the oaths to be read and tendered to me again. I told him I came now to try the traverse of my indictment, and that his tendering me the oaths anew was a new snare. I desired him to answer me a question or two; and asked him whether the oaths were to be tendered to the King's subjects, or to the subjects of foreign princes. He said, "To the subjects of this realm." "Then," said I, "you have not named me a subject in the indictment, and therefore have not brought me within the statute." The judge cried, "Read the oath to him": I said, "I require justice." Again I asked him whether the Sessions ought not to have been held for the King and the body of the county. He said, "Yes." "Then," said I, "you have there left the King out of the indictment; how then can you proceed upon this indictment to a trial between the King and me, seeing the King is left out?" He said, "The King was in before." But I told him, "The King's name being left out, here was a great error in the indictment, and sufficient, as I was informed, to quash it. Besides," I told him, "that I was committed by the name of George Fox, of London; but now I was indicted by the name of George Fox, of Tredington, in the county of Worcester: and I wished the jury to consider how they could find me guilty upon that indictment, seeing I was not of the place the indictment mentioned." The judge did not deny that there were errors in the indictment; but said I might take my remedy in the proper place. I answered, "Ye know we are a people that suffer all things, and bear all things; and therefore ye thus use us, because we cannot revenge ourselves; but we

leave our cause to the Lord." The judge said, "The oath has been tendered to you several times, and we will have some satisfaction from you concerning the oath." I offered them the same declaration instead of the oath which I had offered to the judges above; but it would not be accepted.

Then I desired to know, seeing they put the oath anew to me, whether the indictment was quashed or not. Instead of answering me, the judge told the jury they might go out. Some of the jury were not satisfied; whereupon the judge told them they had heard a man swear that the oath was tendered to me the last Sessions: and then he told them what they should do. I told him he should leave the jury to their own consciences. However, the jury, being put on by him, went forth, and soon came in again, and found me guilty. I asked the jury how they could satisfy themselves to find me guilty upon that indictment, which was laid so false, and had so many errors in it. They could make but little answer; yet one, who seemed to be the worst of them, would have taken me by the hand; but I put him by, saying, "How now, Judas, hast thou betrayed me, and dost thou now come with a kiss?" So I bid him and them repent. Then the judge began to tell me how favourable the Court had been to me. I asked him how he could say so. Was ever any man worse dealt by than I had been in this case, who was stopt in my journey, when travelling upon my lawful occasions, and imprisoned without cause; and now had the oaths put to me only for a snare. And I desired him to answer me in the presence of the Lord, in whose presence we all were, whether this oath was not tendered me in envy. He would not answer that, but said, "Would you had never come here to trouble us and the country!" I told him I came not thither of myself, but was brought, being stopt in my journey. I did not trouble them, but they had brought trouble upon themselves. Then the judge told me what a sad sentence he had to tell me. I asked him whether what he was going to speak was by way of passing sentence, or of information. For I told him I had many things to say, and more errors to assign in the indictment, besides those I had already mentioned, to stop him from giving sentence against me upon that indictment. He said he was going to shew me the danger of a premunire, which was the loss of my liberty and of all my goods and chattels, and to endure imprisonment during life. But he said he did not deliver this as the sentence of the Court upon me, but as an admonition to me. Then he bid the jailer take me away. I expected to be called

again to hear the sentence; but when I was gone, the clerk of the peace (whose name was Twitney)¹ asked him, as I was informed, whether that which he had spoken to me should stand for sentence. And he, consulting with some of the justices, told him yes, that was the sentence, and should stand. This was done behind my back, to save himself from shame in the face of the country.

Many of the justices, and the generality of the people, were moderate and civil; but Justice Street, who was the judge of the Court, would not regard, but overruled all. This Justice Street said to some Friends in the morning before my trial that if he had been upon the bench the first Sessions, he would not have tendered me the oath; but if I had been convicted of being at a conventicle, he would have proceeded against me according to that law; and that he was sorry that ever I came before him; and yet he maliciously tendered the oath to me in the Court again, when I was to have tried my traverse upon the indictment. But the Lord pleaded my cause, and met with both him and Justice Simpson, who first ensnared me with the oath at the first Sessions; for Simpson's son was arraigned not long after, at the same Bar, for murder. And Street, who, as he came down from London, after the judges had returned me back from the King's Bench to Worcester, said now I was returned to them I should lie in prison and rot, had his only daughter, whom he so doted on that she was called his idol, brought dead from London in a hearse, to the same inn where he spake those words, and brought to Worcester to be buried within a few days after. People took notice of the hand of God, how sudden it was upon him; but it rather hardened than tendered him, as his conduct afterwards shewed.

After I was returned to prison, several came to see me; and amongst others, the Earl of Salisbury's son, who was very loving, and troubled that they had dealt so badly by me. He stayed about two hours with me, and took a copy of the errors in the indictment in writing.²

The Sessions being now over, and I fixed in prison by a pre-munire, my wife came out of the North to be with me; and the Assizes coming on, in the Sixth Month, the state of my case

¹ Probably Thomas Twitney (c. 1622-1686).

² In a letter from George Fox to William Penn, dated from Worcester, 10 viii. 1674, he refers to "the Earl of Salisbury's younger son":

"He commands the troop that Lord Fretwell had the command of. . . . He is convinced in his judgment of the truth. He goes often to Bull and Mouth meeting. His lodging is in Bartholomew Close."

being drawn up in writing, she and Thomas Lower delivered it to Judge Wild. In it were set forth the occasion of my journey; the manner of my being taken and imprisoned; the proceedings of the several Sessions against me; and the errors in the indictment by which I was premunired. When the judge had read it he shook his head, and said we might try the validity or invalidity of the errors if we would; and that was all they could get from him.

About this time I had a fit of sickness, which brought me very low and weak in my body; and I continued so a pretty while, insomuch that some Friends began to doubt of my recovery. I seemed to myself to be amongst the graves and dead corpses; yet the invisible power did secretly support me, and conveyed refreshing strength into me, even when I was so weak that I was almost speechless. One night, as I was lying awake upon my bed in the glory of the Lord which was over all, it was said unto me that the Lord had a great deal more work for me to do for Him before He took me to Himself.

Endeavours were used to get me released, at least for a time, till I was grown stronger; but the way of effecting it proved difficult and tedious; for the King was not willing to release me by any other way than a pardon, being told he could not legally do it; and I was not willing to be released by a pardon, which he would readily have given me, because I did not look upon that way as agreeable with the innocency of my cause.

After this, my wife went to London, and spake to the King, laying before him my long and unjust imprisonment, with the manner of my being taken, and the justices' proceedings against me in tendering me the oath as a snare, whereby they had premunired me; so that I being now his prisoner, it was in his power, and at his pleasure, to release me, which she desired. The King spake kindly to her, and referred her to the lord-keeper; to whom she went, but could not obtain what she desired; for he said the King could not release me otherwise than by a pardon; and I was not free to receive a pardon, knowing I had not done evil. If I would have been freed by a pardon, I need not have lain so long, for the King was willing to give me pardon long before, and said that I need not scruple being released by a pardon, for many a man that was as innocent as a child had had a pardon granted him; yet I could not consent to have one. For I had rather have lain in prison all my days

than have come out in any way dishonourable to Truth; wherefore I chose to have the validity of my indictment tried before the judges. And thereupon, having first had the opinion of a counsellor upon it (Thomas Corbett, of London), an *habeas corpus* was sent down to Worcester to bring me up once more to the King's Bench Bar, for the trial of the errors in my indictment. The under-sheriff set forward with me the 4th of the Twelfth Month, there being with us in the coach the clerk of the peace and some others. The clerk had been my enemy all along, and now sought to ensnare me in discourse; but I saw, and shunned him. He asked me what I would do with the errors in the indictment. I told him they should be tried, and every action should crown itself. He quarrelled with me for calling their ministers priests. I asked him if the law did not call them so. Then he asked me what I thought of the Church of England; were there no Christians among them. I said, "They are all called so, and there are many tender people amongst them."

We came to London on the 8th, and on the 11th I was brought before the four judges at the King's Bench, where Counsellor Corbett¹ pleaded my cause. He started a new plea; for he told the judges that they could not imprison any man upon a premunire. Whereupon Chief Justice Hale² said, "Mr. Corbett, you should have come sooner, at the beginning of the term, with this plea." He answered, "We could not get a copy of the return and the indictment." The judge replied, "You should have told us, and we would have forced them to make a return sooner." Then said Judge Wild, "Mr. Corbett, you go upon general terms; and if it be as you say, we have committed many errors at the Old Bailey, and in other Courts." Corbett affirmed again that by law they could not imprison upon a premunire. The judge said, "There is summons in the statute." "Yes," said Corbett, "but summons is not imprisonment; for summons is in order to a trial." "Well," said the judge, "we must have time to look in our books and consult the statutes." So the hearing was put off till the next day.

The next day they chose rather to let this plea fall, and begin with the errors of the indictment; and when they came to be opened, they were so many and gross that the judges were all of opinion that the indictment was quashed and void, and that I ought to have my liberty. Some of my adversaries moved the

¹ Thomas Corbett was a J.P. for Montgomery County with offices in London.

² Sir Matthew Hale (1609-1676).

judges that the oaths might be tendered again to me, telling them I was a dangerous man to be at liberty. But Judge Hale said he had indeed heard some such reports, but he had also heard many more good reports of me; and so he and the rest of the judges ordered me to be freed by proclamation. Thus after I had suffered imprisonment a year and almost two months for nothing, I was fairly set at liberty upon a trial of the errors in my indictment, without receiving any pardon or coming under any obligation or engagement at all; and the Lord's everlasting power went over all, to His glory and praise. Counsellor Corbett, who pleaded for me, obtained great fame by it, for many of the lawyers came to him, and told him he had brought that to light which had not been known before, as to the not imprisoning upon a premunire; and after the trial a judge said to him, "You have attained a great deal of honour by pleading George Fox's cause so in Court."

During the time of my imprisonment in Worcester, notwithstanding my illness and want of health, and my being so often hurried to and fro to London and back again, I wrote several books for the press. Besides these I wrote many papers and epistles to Friends to encourage and strengthen them in their services for God, which some, who had made profession of Truth, but had given way to a seducing spirit, and were departed from the unity and fellowship of the gospel in which Friends stand, endeavoured to discourage them from, especially in their diligent and watchful care for the well-ordering and managing of the affairs of the Church of Christ.

Being now at liberty, I visited the Friends in London; and having been very weak, and not yet well recovered, I went to Kingston. I did not stay long, but having visited the Friends there I returned to London, wrote a paper to the Parliament, and sent several books to them. A great book against Swearing had been delivered to them a little before; the reasonableness whereof had so much influence upon many of them, that it was thought they would have done something towards our relief if they had sate longer. I stayed in and near London till the Yearly Meeting, to which Friends came from most parts of the nation, and some from beyond the seas. A glorious meeting we had in the everlasting power of God.

This meeting being over, and the Parliament also risen (who

had done nothing for or against Friends), I was clear of my service for the Lord at London. And having taken my leave of Friends there, I took coach with Margaret and her daughter Susan (for I was not able to travel on horseback) towards the North, and so to Lancaster; and on the 25th of the Fourth Month we went over the Sands and came safe to Swarthmoor.

APPENDIX

BY THE EDITOR

1675-1691

THE Journal proper of George Fox closes with his arrival at Swarthmoor Hall on the 25th of the Fourth Month (June), 1675, four months after his liberation from Worcester Jail. It is probable that the recital of Fox's life for fifty-one years engaged his attention during his imprisonment, and that, at home at Swarthmoor, he was able to gather together the incidents of his life, recorded in note-books and various writings, and dictate the results to his son-in-law, Thomas Lower, in the form which has come down to us and which was printed *in extenso* by the Cambridge University Press in 1911.

To complete a Journal of the life of George Fox during the next sixteen years, his editors, Thomas Ellwood and others, shortly after his death gathered information from various sources and formed a continuous narrative, which they cast into autobiographical form. This added portion is less picturesque than the original narrative and it was interspersed with letters and papers which have little value at the present day.

The story of these latter years of Fox's life is here presented in brief form, with some enlargement in the narrative of his first continental tour.

On the 26th of the First Month (March), 1677, after spending about a year and a half in his northern home, resting in his family and writing many letters and epistles, he journeyed forth once more, "but weakly and not able to travel far in a day," in easy stages to London, which was reached on the 23rd of the Third Month. It was a tiring journey, for he "had not much rest at night to refresh nature," and "often sate up late with Friends to inform and advise them in things wherein they were wanting, and when in bed often hindered of sleep by great pains in head and teeth, occasioned from cold taken by riding often in the rain."

On the way the following letter was written to his wife:

DEAR HEART,—To whom is my love, and to thy daughters, and to all Friends that inquire after me. My desires are that ye all may be preserved in the Lord's everlasting Seed, in whom ye all will have life and peace, and dominion and settlement in the everlasting home or dwelling in the house built upon the foundation of God.

In the power of the Lord I am brought to York, having had many meetings in the way. The way was many times deep and bad with snow that our horses sometimes were down, and we were not able to ride; and sometimes we had great storms and rain; but by the power of the Lord I went through all. At Scarhouse there was a very large meeting, and another at Burrowby, to which Friends came out of Cleveland and Bishoprick; and many other meetings we have had. At York, yesterday, we had a very large meeting, exceeding throng, Friends being at it from many parts, and all quiet, and Friends well satisfied: oh, the glory of the Lord shined over all. This day we have had a large men's and women's meeting, many Friends, both men and women, being come out of the country, and all was quiet; and this evening we are to have the men's and women's meeting of the Friends of the city. John Whitehead is here, with Robert Lodge and others; Friends are mighty glad, above measure. So I am in my holy element, and holy work in the Lord, glory to His name for ever! To-morrow I intend to go out of the city towards Tadcaster, though I cannot ride as in days past; yet praised be the Lord that I can travel as well as I do.

So with my love in the fountain of life, in which as ye all abide, ye will have refreshment of life, that by it ye may grow and gather eternal strength to serve the Lord, and be satisfied. So to the God of all power, who is all-sufficient to preserve you, I commit you all to His ordering.

G. F.

York, the 16th of the 2nd Month, 1677.

After three weeks spent with William Penn in his Sussex home, George Fox began preparations for a continental visit; and with several Friends, including William Penn, Robert Barclay, and his wife's daughter Isabel Yeamans, he sailed for Holland on the 25th of the Fifth Month.

The following is taken from the Ellwood Text, with additions:

It was upon me from the Lord to go into Holland, to visit Friends and to preach the gospel there, and in some parts of Germany. Wherefore setting things in order for my journey as fast as I could, I took leave of Friends at London, and with several other Friends went down to Colchester. Thence next day we passed to Harwich, where some from London came to

us there, that intended to go over with me. The packet-boat in which we were to go not being ready, we went to the meeting in the town, and a precious opportunity we had together; for the Lord, according to His wonted goodness, by His overcoming, refreshing power, opened many mouths to declare His everlasting truth, and to praise and glorify Him.

After the meeting at Harwich we returned to John Vandewall's, where I had lodged; and when the packet-boat was ready, taking leave of Friends, we that were bound for Holland went on board about the ninth hour in the evening of the Fourth-day of the week, the 25th of the Fifth Month, 1677. The Friends that went over with me were William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeamans, one of my wife's daughters.

About the first hour in the morning we weighed anchor, having a fair brisk wind, which by next morning brought us within sight of Holland. But that day proving very clear and calm we got forward little, till about the fourth hour in the afternoon, when a fresh gale arose, which carried us within a league of land. Then being becalmed again, we cast anchor for that night, it being between the ninth and tenth hours in the evening: but William Penn and Robert Barclay, understanding that Benjamin Furly was come from Rotterdam to the Briel to meet us, got two of the boatmen to let down a small boat that belonged to the packet-boat, and row them to shore; but before they could reach it the gates were shut; and there being no house without the gate, they were fain to lie in a fisher's boat all night. As soon as the gates were opened in the morning, they went in and found Benjamin Furly, with other Friends of Rotterdam, that were come thither to receive us; and they sent a boat, with three young men in it that lived with Benjamin Furly, who brought us to shore, where the Friends received us with great gladness.

We stayed about two hours to refresh ourselves, and then took boat, with the Holland Friends, for Rotterdam, where we arrived about the eleventh hour that day, the 28th of the month.

Next day, being the First-day of the week, we had two meetings at Benjamin Furly's, where many of the town's-people and some of considerable note came in, and all were civil. Benjamin Furly or Jan Claus, a Friend of Amsterdam, interpreted, when any Friend declared. The day following, William Penn and I, with other Friends, went towards Amsterdam with some

Friends of that city who came to Rotterdam to conduct us thither.

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The quarterly meeting came on, to which came Friends from Haarlem and Rotterdam, and with them those of our company, whom we had left at Rotterdam, viz., Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, &c. The meeting was at Gertrude Dirick Nieson's house. A very large and serviceable one it was; for both William Penn and I were drawn to open many things concerning the order of the gospel, and to shew the benefit and service of yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings of men and women. We had another meeting at Gertrude's the next day, more public and very large, at which were professors of several sorts, unto whom the way of life and salvation was largely and livingly opened; which they hearkened very attentively to, none making any objection to what was declared. In the afternoon we had another meeting in the same place, but less, and more private. The day following we had a meeting of Friends only, wherein by joint agreement were settled several meetings; to wit, monthly, quarterly and a yearly meeting, to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in all the United Provinces of Holland, and in Embden, the Palatinate, Hamborough, Frederickstadt, Dantzic, and other places in and about Germany; which Friends were glad of, and it has been of great service to Truth.

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The next day, being the First-day of the week, we had a very large meeting again, there coming to it a great concourse of people of different opinions, as Baptists, Seekers, Socinians, Brownists, and some of the Collegians. Robert Barclay, George Keith, William Penn, and I, declared the everlasting truth among them; opening the estate of man in the fall, and shewing by what way man and woman might come into the restoration by Christ Jesus. Indeed, the mystery of iniquity and the mystery of godliness were very plainly laid open, and the meeting ended quietly and well.

The day following, George Keith, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, leaving me and some other Friends at Amsterdam, set forward towards Germany, where they travelled many hundred miles and had good service for the Lord; Benjamin Furly going with them and interpreting.

That day and the next I stayed at Amsterdam, visiting

Friends, and assisting them in some business concerning their meetings. Three Baptists came to discourse with me, to whom I opened things to their satisfaction, and they parted from me in kindness. I wrote a letter also to the Princess Elizabeth,¹ which Isabel Yeamans delivered to her, when George Keith's wife and she went to visit her.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH,—I have heard of thy tenderness towards the Lord and His holy truth, by some Friends that have visited thee, and also by some of thy letters which I have seen. It is indeed a great thing for a person of thy quality to have such a tender mind after the Lord and His precious truth, seeing so many are swallowed up with voluptuousness and the pleasures of this world; yet all make an outward profession of God and Christ one way or other, but without any deep, inward sense and feeling of Him. For it is not many mighty, nor wise of the world, that can become fools for Christ's sake, or can become low in the humility of Christ Jesus from their mighty state, through which they might receive a mightier estate, and a mightier kingdom through the inward Holy Spirit—the divine light and power of God; and a mightier wisdom which is from above, pure and peaceable. This wisdom is above that which is below; that is earthly, sensual, and devilish by which men destroy one another, yea, about their religions, ways and worships, and Churches; but this they have not from God nor Christ. But the wisdom which is from above, by which all things were made and created, which the holy fear of God in the heart is the beginning of, keeps the heart clean: and by and with this wisdom are all God's children to be ordered, and with it come to order all things to God's glory. This is the wisdom that is justified of her children. And in this fear of God and wisdom, my desire is, that thou may be preserved to God's glory. For the Lord is come to teach His people Himself, and to set up His ensign, that the nations may flow unto it.

O therefore, feel the grace and truth in thy heart, that is come by Jesus Christ, that will teach thee how to live, and what to deny. It will establish thy heart, and season thy words, and bring thy salvation; it will be a teacher unto thee at all times. By it thou mayest receive Christ from whence it comes; and as many as receive Him, to them He gives power, not only to stand against sin and evil, but to become the sons of God; if sons, then heirs of a life, a world, and kingdom, without end, and of the eternal riches and treasures thereof.

So in haste, with my love in the Lord Jesus Christ, that has tasted death for every man, and bruises the serpent's head, that is betwixt man and God, that through Christ man may come to God

¹ Elizabeth, Princess of the Rhine (1618-1680), was the eldest daughter of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, her mother being a daughter of King James I. of England.

again, and so can praise Him through Jesus Christ, the Amen; who is the spiritual and heavenly rock and foundation for all God's people to build upon, to the praise and glory of God, who is over all, blessed for evermore.

GEORGE FOX.

Amsterdam, the 7th of 6th Month, 1677.

Postscript.—The bearer hereof is a daughter-in-law of mine, that comes with Gertrude Dirick Nieson and George Keith's wife to visit thee.

G. F.

The Princess Elizabeth's answer :

DEAR FRIEND,—I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given, not only to believe in Him, but also to suffer for Him; therefore your letter and your friends visit have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still your loving friend,

ELIZABETH.

Hertfort, the 30th of August, 1677.

Next day Jan Claus and I took a boat and then passed by waggon to Alkmaar, about thirty miles from Amsterdam. I visited some Friends and then took ship for Friesland, and landing we went to Harlingen, the chief seaport town in Friesland. We passed by waggon to Oldenburg, lately a great and famous place, but then burnt down, and next day to Bremen, a stately city in Germany, and thence, after a double examination, we took waggon again and travelled in the Bishop of Munster's country. We got fresh horses, intending to travel all night, but it quickly grew so dark and rained so hard, that we thought it best to turn back again; for our waggon being open we had no defence against the rain, and our clothes were already wet with what had fallen for several days before. So we went to an inn and got a little fresh straw, upon which we lay till about the break of day.

We went on as fast as we could to Hamborough, partly by waggon and partly by water. We reached the city in time enough to get a meeting there that evening. At Hamborough was a woman that had spoken against me in John Perrot's time, though she had never seen me till now. She had been troubled for it ever since, and now was glad of an opportunity to acknowledge her fault, which she very readily did, and I as readily

and freely forgave her. A dark hard place is this and the people are much shut up from Truth.

Passing through many great waters, we came to Embden, where Jan Claus's wife's father lived, whose name was Claes Jhon Foeldricke, at whose house, when we went into Germany, we left a young man¹ sick, who travelled with me and used to write for me, whom now we found pretty well recovered.

The day following we left Embden, and after much travelling returned to Amsterdam, and went to Gertrude Dirick Nieson's, where many Friends came to see us, being glad of our safe return.

On the First-day of the week I was at Friends' meeting, to which many people came, and were very civil and attentive, hearing Truth declared several hours. Jan Roeloffs interpreted for me. Before this time, several of the Friends that came over with me were returned to England, as Robert Barclay, George Keith's wife, and others; and now my daughter Yeamans went back also; so that I was left alone at Amsterdam.

While I was here, I spent much of my time (except when I was at Friends' meetings, or when people came to speak with me) in writing books, papers, or epistles on Truth's behalf. I writ several epistles to Friends in England and elsewhere, on several occasions, as the Lord moved me by His Spirit thereunto. I writ also "A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Oldenburg, which was lately burnt down"; also, "A Warning to the Inhabitants of the City of Hamborough."

After some time George Keith and William Penn came back from Germany to Amsterdam, and had a dispute with one Galenus Abrahams (one of the most noted Baptists in Holland), at which many professors were present; but not having time to finish the dispute then, they met again two days after, and the Baptist was much confounded, and Truth gained ground. Between these two disputes we had a very great meeting at Friends' meeting-place, at which many hundreds of the world's

¹ This was Edward Haistwell, George Fox's amanuensis, who accompanied him to Holland and elsewhere in 1677 and 1678.

people were, and some of high rank in the world's account. An earl, a lord, and divers other eminent persons, were present, who all behaved themselves very civilly. But when the meeting was ended, some priests began to make opposition; which, when William Penn understood, he stood up again, and answered them to the great satisfaction of the people, who were much affected with the several testimonies they had heard declared. After the meeting several of them came to Gertrude's, where we were, with whom George Keith had much discourse in Latin.

And that day there was a woman at the meeting who had gone fourteen years on her hands and knees, and through the wonderful hand and arm of the Lord was restored to her strength again, and can go very well. And after the meeting she came to me. And since her recovery so many people going to see her, and she not keeping low in her mind and in the fear of the Lord, was much run into words. So I spake much to her, exhorting her to fear the Lord, and telling her that if she did not keep low and humble before the Lord that she would be worse than ever she had been. And the woman was much tendered and confessed to the truth.

Having now finished our service at Amsterdam, we took leave of the Friends there, and passed by waggon to Leyden, about twenty-five miles; where we stayed a day or two, seeking out and visiting some tender people we heard of there. We met with a German, who was partly convinced. He informed us of an eminent man that was inquiring after Truth. Some sought him out, and visited him, and found him a serious man; I also spake to him, and he owned the truth.

Many times in mornings, noons, and nights, at the inns and on the ways as I travelled, I spake to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and spirit of God in themselves that thereby they might be led out of evil.

From Leyden we went to the Hague, which is accounted the greatest village in the world, where the Prince of Orange kept his Court; and we visited one of the judges of Holland, with whom we had pretty much discourse. He was a wise, tender man, and put many objections and queries to us; which when we had answered, he was satisfied, and parted with us in much love. Leaving the Hague, we went to Rotterdam, where we stayed some days, and had several meetings. While

I was here I gave forth a book for the Jews; with whom, when I was at Amsterdam, I had a desire to have some discourse, but they would not. Here also I reviewed several other books and papers which I had given forth before, and which were now transcribed.

Finding our spirits clear of the service which the Lord had given us to do in Holland, we took leave of Friends of Rotterdam, and passed by boat to the Briel, in order to take passage that day for England; several Friends of Rotterdam accompanying us, and some of Amsterdam, who were come to see us again before we left Holland. But the packet not coming in till night, we were fain to lodge that night at the Briel; and next day being the 21st of the Eighth Month, and the First-day of the week, we went on board, and set sail about the tenth hour, viz., William Penn, George Keith, and I, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children. We were in all about sixty passengers, and had a long and hazardous passage; for the winds were contrary, and the weather stormy; the boat also was very leaky, insomuch that we were fain to have two pumps continually going, day and night; so that it was thought there was twice as much water pumped out as the vessel would have held. But the Lord, who is able to make the stormy winds to cease, and the raging waves of the sea calm, yea, to raise them and stop them at His pleasure, He alone did preserve us; praised be His name for ever! Though our passage was hard, yet we had a fine time, and good service for Truth on board among the passengers, some of whom were eminent persons, and were very kind and loving. We arrived at Harwich on the 23rd, at night, having been two nights and almost three days at sea. I had a meeting at Harwich; and there being no Colchester coach there, and the postmaster's wife being unreasonable in her demands for a coach, and deceiving us of it also after we had hired it, we went to a Friend's house about a mile and a half in the country, and hired his waggon which we bedded well with straw, and rode in it to Colchester.

I stayed at Colchester till the First-day of the week, having a desire to be at Friends' meeting that day; and a very large and weighty one it was; for Friends hearing of my return from Holland, flocked from several parts of the country, and many of the town's-people coming in also, it was thought there were about a thousand people at it; and all was peaceable. Having stayed a day or two longer at Colchester, I travelled through Essex, visiting Friends and having meetings with them.

At Chelmsford I had a meeting in the evening; and there being many Friends prisoners, they got liberty and came to the meeting; and we were all refreshed together in the Lord. Next day, the 9th of the Ninth Month, I got to London, where Friends received me with great joy.

After he had been a little while in London, Fox wrote the following letter to his wife:

DEAR HEART,—To whom is my love and to the children, and to all the rest of Friends, in the Lord's truth, power and seed, that is over all; glory to the Lord, and blessed be His name for ever beyond all words, who hath carried me through and over many trials and dangers, in His eternal power. I have been twice at Gracious Street meeting; and though the opposite spirits were there, yet all was quiet; the dew of heaven fell upon the people, and the glory of the Lord shined over all. Every day I am fain to be at meetings about business, and sufferings which are great abroad; and now many Friends are concerned with many persons about them:

So in haste, with my love to you all.

G. F.

London, the 24th of the 9th Month, 1677.

On the 24th of the Eleventh Month Fox arrived in Bristol, and after a round of visits he returned to town on the 8th of the Third Month, 1678. On the 26th, after the Yearly Meeting was ended, he wrote to his wife:

DEAR HEART,—To whom is my love in the everlasting Seed of life that reigns over all. Great meetings here have been, and the Lord's power hath been stirring through all, the like hath not been. The Lord hath in His power knit Friends wonderfully together, and His glorious presence did appear among Friends. And now the meetings are over, blessed be the Lord! in quietness and peace.

From Holland I hear things are well there: some Friends are gone that way, to be at their Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. At Embden, Friends that were banished are gotten into the city again. At Dantzic, Friends are in prison, and the magistrates threatned them with harder imprisonment; but the next day the Lutherans rose and plucked down (or defaced) the Popish monastery; so they have work enough among themselves. The King of Poland received my letter, and read it himself; and Friends have since printed it in High Dutch. By letters from the half-yearly meeting in Ireland, I hear that they be all in love there. At Barbados, Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in peace. At Antego also and Nevis, Truth prospers, and Friends have their meetings orderly and well. Likewise in New England and other places, things concerning Truth and Friends are well; and in those places the men's and women's meetings are settled; blessed be the Lord

So keep in God's power and seed, that is over all, in whom ye all have life and salvation; for the Lord reigns over all in His glory, and in His kingdom; glory to His name for ever, Amen. In haste, with my love to you all, and to all Friends.

G. F.

London, the 26th of the 3d Month, 1678.

In the Seventh Month Fox was again at Swarthmoor, remaining there until the First Month, 1679/80, when his last visit came to an end. From this time onward his time was spent in and about London, save for a short visit to Holland in 1684. His health declined gradually and he had frequently to take a rest in the country around London. He was much occupied with the affairs of the Church and the sufferings of his fellow-believers. In 1688/89 when the bill for indulgence was before Parliament, he attended, "though weak in body and not well able to stir about, for many days at the Parliament-house, labouring with the members that the thing might be done comprehensively and effectually." To the last Fox's pen was busy with help and advice. In the Ninth Month, 1690, from the house of his friend Edward Mann, he wrote:

An Epistle to Friends in the Ministry.

All Friends in the ministry everywhere, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in it, do not hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel, nor cumber your selves nor entangle your selves with the affairs of this world. For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the world, much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world, but are to mind the riches and glory of the world that is everlasting. Therefore stir up the gift of God in you, and improve it; do not sit down, Demas-like, and embrace this present world that will have an end, lest ye become idolaters. Be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the daylight of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and have received it, and preached it; which stands in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

As able ministers of the Spirit sow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap life everlasting. Go on in the Spirit, plowing with it in the purifying hope; and threshing, with the power and spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. For he that looks back from the spiritual plow into the world is not fit for the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of God; and then he is not like to press into it as the faithful do. Therefore you that are awakened to righteousness and to the knowledge of the truth, keep your selves awakened in it; then the enemy cannot sow his tares in your field; for truth and righteousness is over him, and before he was. So my desires are that all may fulfil their ministry, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath committed to them;

and then by the blood (or life) and testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it, within and without.

And all you that preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love; and all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of Him, He gives them power to become the sons of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; whom He calleth brethren; and He gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing as a river up to eternal life, that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. So that all may be spiritual planters, and spiritual waterers; and may see with the spiritual eye the everlasting, eternal God over all to give the increase, who is the infinite fountain. So my desires are that you may be kept out of all the beggarly elements of the world, which are below the spiritual region, to Christ the Head; and may hold Him, who bruises the head of enmity, and was before it was; so that ye may all be united together in love, in your Head, Christ, and be ordered by His heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom, to the glory of God. For all that be in Christ are in love, peace, and unity. In Him they are strong, and in a full persuasion; and in Him, who is the first and the last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory. Amen.

From him, who is translated into the kingdom of His dear Son, with all His saints, a heavenly salutation. Salute ye one another with a holy kiss of charity, that never faileth.

G. F.

Ford-Green, the 25th of the 9th Month, 1690.

Another letter was addressed to "Friends in the Ministry, that were gone to America," and his last, dated London, 10th of the Eleventh Month, 1690/91, was written to Friends in Ireland.

The closing scenes in the earthly pilgrimage of George Fox are best described in the following letters, one written on the 13th of the Eleventh Month (January), 1690/91—the day of his death; and the other on the 16th—the day of his burial at the Friends' ground near Bunhill Fields.

DEAR M. FOX,—With the dear remembrance of my unfeigned love in Xt Jesus, I am to be the teller to thee of sorrowful tidings as I may call it in some sense, which is this, that thy dear husband and my beloved and dear Friend, G. Fox, has finished his glorious testimony this night about half an hour after nine, being sensible to the last breath.

Oh, he is gone and has left us in the storm that is over our heads, surely in great mercy to him, but as an evidence to us of sorrows to come. He was as living and firm Fourth Day last was a week at Gracechurch Street, and this last First Day, being the day before yesterday, but complained after meeting of being inwardly struck,¹ and lay ever since at Henry Goldney's where he departed.

¹ As he came out of the meeting he remarked, "I am glad I was here, now I am clear, I am fully clear."

My soul is deeply affected with this hasty, great loss. Surely it portends to us great evils to come. A prince indeed is fallen in Israel to-day.

I cannot enlarge for I shall write to several to-night and it is late. The Lord be with thee and thine, and us all. Amen.

I am thy faithful and affectionate Friend,

WM. PENN.

He died as he lived, a lamb, minding the things of God and His Church to the last in an universal spirit.

London, 13th of the 11th Month, 1690.

DEAR FRIENDS,—Before this come to your hands, I know you have an account of the departure of our ancient friend and honourable Elder in the Church of God, who was this day buried amongst a large and living assembly of God's chosen people, who did accompany him to the ground, was supposed to be above four thousand of Friends. The meeting house at Gracious Street could not contain them nor the court before the door many that could not get to within the hearing of the testimonies; and many living, open, powerful testimonies were published in the meeting house and many in the graveyard amongst many tender hearts and watery eyes, and contrite spirits.

The London Friends are wonderfully discreet to order all passages and concerns relating thereunto with great wisdom every way, there being five monthly meetings belonging to the City, and six chosen Friends nominated and appointed out of every months meeting, who were to carry the corpse and none else; and that his relations should go all next to the corpse and that all Friends should go on one side of the street, three and three in a rank as close together as they could go, that the other side might be left clear for the citizens and coaches that were going about their business. And though the graveyard be a large plat of ground, yet it was pitched full as thick as could stand, only some of the people of the world were not in there.

The last week he was at three meetings—a Quarter Meeting, Second-days Meeting, and Meeting of Sufferings—and two meetings of worship, besides the First-days meeting which was at Gracechurch Street meeting house. And on the Seventh-day he came to lodge at Henry Gouldneys to be near on the First-day where he kept the meeting, and said he was as well in that meeting as he had been a long time before. Yet he began to be ill about the fifth hour of the evening that First-day, and departed before the tenth hour of the evening the Third-day.

I was with him most of the time, wherein he spoke many living, powerful sentences to the tendering of the company present. There was no sign of any great pain upon him, neither did he ever complain. He shut up his eyes and mouth himself and his chin never fell again nor needed any binding up, but lay as if he had been fallen asleep. One would have thought he had smiled. He was the pleasantest corpse that ever was looked upon. And many

hundreds of Friends came to see his face, having the most of three days time to behold him before the coffin was nailed up.

Friends carried the coffin on their shoulders without any bier or cloth or colour but the natural wood, yet the coffin was very smooth and comely.

Well, friends, about two hours or less before he died he took me by the hand and bid me remember his love to Friends where I travelled.

I am glad to see such a heavenly, harmonious conclusion as dear G. F. made, the sense and sweetness of it, I believe will never depart from me, In the heavenly virtue of which I desire to rest and remain your brother,

ROBERT BARROW.

London, the 16th of the 11th Month, 1690.

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